GAI IULI CAESARIS

DE BELLO GALLICO

COMMENTARIUS OCTAVUS.

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[GAI IULI CAESARIS] DE BELLO GALLICO

COMMENTARIUS OCTAVUS

WITH A MAP AND ENGLISH NOTES

BY

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PREFACE.

BESIDES the books to which I have expressed my obligations in my editions of the first seven commentaries, I may here mention the following as having been of service to me in writing my notes on this book:

A. Holder. C. Iuli Caesaris Belli Gallici Libri VII. Accessit A. Hirti Liber Octavus. Freiburg and Tübingen 1882. [A recension of the text with a conspectus of the more important MS readings and a useful though not quite accurate index of words to Books I. to VII. and VIII. separately.]

A. Doberenz. C. Iulii Caesaris Commentarii de Bello Gallico. Für den Schulgebrauch erklärt. Ed. 8, revised by G. B. Dinter.

E. Fischer. Das achte Buch vom Gallischen Kriege und das bellum Alexandrinum. Eine Studie. Programm der königlichen Studienanstalt Passau zum Schlusse des Schuljahres 1879—80. [The writer examines the language of Book VIII. and institutes a comparison between it and that of the Bellum Alexandrinum. He concludes thus—Ich schliesse mit Vielhaber's Worten "es ist noch nicht erwiesen, dass beide Commentare von demselben Verfasser stammen."]

Th. Mommsen. Die Rechtsfrage zwischen Caesar und dem Senat. Printed among the Abhandlungen der Historisch-Philosophischen Gesellschaft in Breslau. Vol. I. 1858.

I have also consulted various articles and reviews in the Philologus, the Zeitschrift für die Oesterreichi-

schen Gymnasien and Bursian's Jahresbericht. Lastly, all students of Caesar will be grateful to H. Merguet for undertaking a complete Lexicon to Caesar and his continuators, on the plan of his well-known lexicon to Cicero's speeches. The first part only of this work has appeared at present. A map of Gaul accompanies this edition; A. von Kampen's special maps and plans are cheap and accessible and should always be used by readers of Caesar.

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[C. IULI CAESARIS]

COMMENTARIORUM

DE BELLO GALLICO

LIBER OCTAVUS.

Coactus adsiduis tuis vocibus, Balbe, cum cotidiana mea recusatio non difficultatis excusationem, sed inertiae videretur deprecationem habere, rem difficillimam suscepi. Caesaris nostri commentarios rerum gestarum Galliae non comparent*es supplevi*, superioribus atque insequentibus eius scriptis contexui novissimumque imperfectum ab rebus gestis Alexandriae confeci usque ad exitum non quidem civilis dissensionis, cuius finem nullum videmus, sed vitae Caesaris. Quos utinam qui legent scire possint, quam invitus susceperim scribendos, quo facilius caream stultitiae atque arrogantiae crimine, qui me mediis interposuerim Caesaris scriptis. Constat enim inter omnes nihil tam operose ab aliis esse perfectum, quod non horum elegantia commentariorum superetur. Qui sunt editi, ne scientia tantarum rerum scriptoribus desit, adeoque probantur omnium iudicio ut praerepta, non praebita facultas scriptoribus videatur. Cuius tamen rei maior nostra quam reliquorum est admiratio: ceteri enim, quam bene atque emendate, nos etiam, quam facile atque celeriter eos perfecerit, scimus. Erat autem in Caesare cum facultas atque elegantia summa scribendi, tum

verissima scientia suorum consiliorum explicandorum. Mihi ne illud quidem accidit, ut Alexandrino atque Africano bello interessem; quae bella quamquam ex parte nobis Caesaris sermone sunt nota, tamen aliter audimus ea, quae rerum novitate aut admiratione nos capiunt, aliter, quae pro testimonio sumus dicturi. Sed ego nimirum dum omnes excusationis causas colligo, ne cum Caesare conferar, hoc ipsum crimen adrogantiae subeo, quod me iudicio cuiusquam existimem posse cum Caesare comparari. Vale.

1 Omni Gallia devicta Caesar cum a superiore aestate nullum bellandi tempus intermisisset militesque hibernorum quiete reficere a tantis laboribus vellet, complures eodem tempore civitates renovare belli consilia nuntiabantur coniurationesque facere. Cuius rei verisimilis causa adferebatur, quod Gallis omnibus cognitum esset neque ulla multitudine in unum locum coacta resisti posse Romanis, nec, si diversa bella complures eodem tempore intulissent civitates, satis auxilii aut spatii aut copiarum habiturum exercitum populi Romani ad omnia persequenda; non esse autem alicui civitati sortem incommodi recusandam, si tali mora reliquae possent se vindicare in libertatem. 2. Quae ne opinio Gallorum confirmaretur, Caesar M. Antonium quaestorem suis praefecit hibernis; ipse equitum praesidio pridie Kal. Ianuarias ab oppido Bibracte proficiscitur ad legionem XIII, quam non longe a finibus Aeduorum conlocaverat in finibus Biturigum, eique adiungit legionem XI, quae proxima fuerat. Binis cohortibus ad impedimenta tuenda relictis reliquum exercitum in copiosissimos agros Biturigum inducit, qui, cum latos fines et complura oppida haberent, unius legionis hibernis non potuerint contineri quin bellum pararent coniurationesque facerent. 3. Repentino adventu Caesaris accidit, quod imparatis disiectisque accidere fuit necesse, ut sine timore ullo rura colentes prius ab equitatu

opprimerentur quam confugere in oppida possent. Namque etiam illud vulgare incursionis hostium signum, quod incendiis aedificiorum intellegi consuevit, Caesaris erat interdicto sublatum, ne aut copia pabuli frumentique, si longius progredi vellet, deficeretur aut hostes incendiis terrerentur. Multis hominum milibus captis perterriti Bituriges, qui primum adventum potuerant effugere Romanorum, in finitimas civitates aut privatis hospitiis confisi aut societate consiliorum confugerant. Frustra: nam Caesar magnis itineribus omnibus locis occurrit nec dat ulli civitati spatium de aliena potius quam de domestica salute cogitandi; qua celeritate et fideles amicos retinebat et dubitantes terrore ad condiciones pacis adducebat. Tali condicione proposita Bituriges, cum sibi viderent clementia Caesaris reditum patere in eius amicitiam finitimasque civitates sine ulla poena dedisse obsides atque in fidem receptas esse, idem fecerunt.

4. Caesar militibus pro tanto labore ac patientia, qui brumalibus diebus, itineribus difficillimis, frigoribus intolerandis studiosissime permanserant in labore, ducenos sestertios, centurionibus tot milia nummum, praedae nomine condonata, pollicetur legionibusque in hiberna remissis ipse se recipit die XXXX Bibracte. Ibi cum ius diceret, Bituriges ad eum legatos mittunt auxilium petitum contra Carnutes, quos intulisse bellum sibi querebantur. Qua re cognita cum dies non amplius decem et octo in hibernis esset moratus, legiones XIIII et VI ex hibernis ab Arare educit, quas ibi conlocatas explicandae rei frumentariae causa superiore commentario demonstratum est: ita cum duabus legionibus ad persequendos Carnutes proficiscitur. 5. Cum fama exercitus ad hostes esset perlata, calamitate ceterorum ducti Carnutes desertis vicis oppidisque, quae tolerandae hiemis causa constitutis repente exiguis ad necessitatem aedificiis incole-

bant—nuper enim devicti complura oppida dimiserant—dispersi profugiunt. Caesar erumpentes eo maxime tempore acerrimas tempestates cum subire milites nollet, in oppido Carnutum Cenabo castra ponit atque in tecta partim Gallorum, partim quae conlectis celeriter stramentis tentoriorum integendorum gratia erant inaedificata, milites compegit. Equites tamen et auxiliarios pedites in omnes partes mittit, quascumque petisse dicebantur hostes; nec frustra: nam plerumque magna praeda potiti nostri revertuntur. Oppressi Carnutes hiemis difficultate terrore periculi cum tectis expulsi nullo loco diutius consistere auderent nec silvarum praesidio tempestatibus durissimis tegi possent, dispersi magna parte amissa suorum dissipantur in finitimas civitates.

6. Caesar tempore anni difficillimo, cum satis haberet convenientes manus dissipare, ne quod initium belli nasceretur, quantumque in ratione esset, exploratum haberet sub tempus aestivorum nullum summum bellum posse conflari, Gaium Trebonium cum duabus legionibus, quas secum habebat, in hibernis Cenabi conlocavit; ipse cum crebris legationibus Remorum certior fieret Bellovacos, qui belli gloria Gallos omnes Belgasque praestabant, finitimasque his civitates duce Correo Bellovaco et Commio Atrebate exercitus comparare atque in unum locum cogere, ut omni multitudine in fines Suessionum, qui Remis erant adtributi, facerent impressionem, pertinere autem non tantum ad dignitatem, sed etiam ad salutem suam iudicaret nullam calamitatem socios optime de re publica meritos accipere, legionem ex hibernis evocat rursus XI, litteras autem ad Gaium Fabium mittit, ut in fines Suessionum legiones duas, quas habebat, adduceret, alteramque ex duabus ab Labieno arcessit. Ita, quantum hibernorum opportunitas bellique ratio postulabat, perpetuo suo labore in vicem legionibus

expeditionum onus iniungebat. 7. His copiis coactis ad Bellovacos proficiscitur castrisque in eorum finibus positis equitum turmas dimittit in omnes partes ad aliquos excipiendos, ex quibus hostium consilia cognosceret. Equites officio functi renuntiant paucos in aedificiis esse inventos, atque hos, non qui agrorum colendorum causa remansissent (namque esse undique diligenter demigratum), sed qui speculandi causa essent remissi. A quibus cum quaereret Caesar, quo loco multitudo esset Bellovacorum quodve esset consilium eorum, inveniebat: Bellovacos omnes, qui arma ferre possent, in unum locum convenisse, itemque Ambianos, Aulercos, Caletos, Velliocassis, Atrebatas; locum castris excelsum in silva circumdata palude delegisse, impedimenta omnia in ulteriores silvas contulisse. Complures esse principes belli auctores, sed multitudinem maxime Correo obtemperare, quod ei summo esse odio nomen populi Romani intellexissent. Paucis ante diebus ex his castris Atrebatem Commium discessisse ad auxilia Germanorum adducenda; quorum et vicinitas propinqua et multitudo esset infinita. Constituisse autem Bellovacos omnium principum consensu, summa plebis cupiditate, si, ut diceretur, Caesar cum tribus legionibus veniret, offerre se ad dimicandum, ne miseriore ac duriore postea condicione cum toto exercitu decertare cogerentur; si maiores copias adduceret, in eo loco permanere, quem delegissent, pabulatione autem, quae propter anni tempus cum exigua tum disiecta esset, et frumentatione et reliquo commeatu ex insidiis prohibere Romanos. 8. Quae Caesar consentientibus pluribus cum cognosset atque ea quae proponerentur consilia plena prudentiae longeque a temeritate barbarorum remota esse iudicaret, omnibus rebus inserviendum statuit, quo celerius hostes contempta suorum paucitate prodirent in aciem. Singularis enim virtutis veterrimas legiones VII, VIII,

VIIII habebat, summae spei delectaeque iuventutis XI, quae octavo iam stipendio tamen in conlatione reliquarum nondum eandem vetustatis ac virtutis ceperat opinionem. Itaque consilio advocato rebus iis, quae ad se essent delatae, omnibus expositis animos multitudinis confirmat. Si forte hostes trium legionum numero posset elicere ad dimicandum, agminis ordinem ita constituit, ut legio septima, octava, nona ante omnia irent impedimenta, deinde omnium impedimentorum agmen—quod tamen erat mediocre, ut in expeditionibus esse consuevit—cogeret undecima, ne maioris multitudinis species accidere hostibus posset, quam ipsi depoposcissent. Hac ratione paene quadrato agmine instructo in conspectum hostium celerius opinione eorum exercitum adducit. 9. Cum repente instructas velut in acie certo gradu legiones accedere Galli viderent, quorum erant ad Caesarem plena fiduciae consilia perlata, sive certaminis periculo sive subito adventu sive expectatione nostri consilii copias instruunt pro castris nec loco superiore decedunt. Caesar, etsi dimicare optaverat, tamen admiratus tantam multitudinem hostium valle intermissa magis in altitudinem depressa quam late patente castra castris hostium confert. Haec imperat vallo pedum XII muniri, loriculam pro hac ratione eius altitudinis inaedificari; fossam duplicem pedum denum quinum lateribus deprimi directis; turres excitari crebras in altitudinem III tabulatorum, pontibus traiectis constratisque coniungi, quorum frontes viminea loricula munirentur: ut ab hostibus duplici fossa, duplici propugnatorum ordine defenderentur, quorum alter ex pontibus, quo tutior altitudine esset, hoc audacius longiusque permitteret tela, alter, qui propior hostem in ipso vallo conlocatus esset, ponte ab incidentibus telis tegeretur. Portis fores altioresque turres imposuit. 10. Huius munitionis duplex erat consilium. Namque et operum magni-

tudinem et timorem suum sperabat fiduciam barbaris adlaturum, et cum pabulatum frumentatumque longius esset proficiscendum, parvis copiis castra munitione ipsa videbat posse defendi. Interim crebro paucis utrimque procurrentibus inter bina castra palude interiecta contendebatur; quam tamen paludem nonnumquam aut nostra auxilia Gallorum Germanorumque transibant acriusque hostes insequebantur, aut vicissim hostes eadem transgressi nostros longius summovebant. Accidebat autem cotidianis pabulationibus, id quod accidere erat necesse, cum raris disiectisque ex aedificiis pabulum conquireretur, ut impeditis locis dispersi pabulatores circumvenirentur; quae res, etsi mediocre detrimentum iumentorum ac servorum nostris adferebat, tamen stultas cogitationes incitabat barbarorum, atque eo magis, quod Commius, quem profectum ad auxilia Germanorum arcessenda docui, cum equitibus venerat; qui tametsi numero non amplius erant quingenti, tamen Germanorum adventu barbari nitebantur. 11. Caesar, cum animadverteret hostem complures dies castris palude et loci natura munitis se tenere neque oppugnari castra eorum sine dimicatione perniciosa nec locum munitionibus claudi nisi a maiore exercitu posse, litteras ad Trebonium mittit, ut quam celerrime posset legionem XIII, quae cum T. Sextio legato in Biturigibus hiemabat, arcesseret atque ita cum tribus legionibus magnis itineribus ad se veniret; ipse equites in vicem Remorum ac Lingonum reliquarumque civitatum, quorum magnum numerum evocaverat, praesidio pabulationibus mittit, qui subitas incursiones hostium sustinerent. 12. Quod cum cotidie fieret ac iam consuetudine diligentia minueretur, quod plerumque accidit diuturnitate, Bellovaci delecta manu peditum cognitis stationibus cotidianis equitum nostrorum silvestribus locis insidias disponunt eodemque equites postero die mittunt, qui primum elicerent

nostros, deinde circumventos aggrederentur. Cuius mali sors incidit Remis, quibus ille dies fungendi muneris obvenerat. Namque hi, cum repente hostium equites animadvertissent ac numero superiores paucitatem contempsissent, cupidius insecuti peditibus undique sunt circumdati. Quo facto perturbati celerius, quam consuetudo fert equestris proelii, se receperunt amisso Vertisco, principe civitatis, praefecto equitum; qui cum vix equo propter aetatem posset uti, tamen consuetudine Gallorum neque aetatis excusatione in suscipienda praefectura usus erat neque dimicari sine se voluerat. Inflammantur atque incitantur hostium animi secundo proelio, principe et praefecto Remorum interfecto, nostrique detrimento admonentur diligentius exploratis locis stationes disponere ac moderatius cedentem insequi hostem. 13. Non intermittunt interim cotidiana proelia in conspectu utrorumque castrorum, quae ad vada transitusque fiebant paludis. Qua contentione Germani, quos propterea Caesar traduxerat Rhênum, ut equitibus interpositi proeliarentur, cum constantius universi paludem transissent paucisque resistentibus interfectis pertinacius reliquam multitudinem essent insecuti, perterriti non solum ii, qui aut comminus opprimebantur aut eminus vulnerabantur, sed etiam qui longius subsidiari consuerant, turpiter refugerunt nec prius finem fugae fecerunt saepe amissis superioribus locis, quam se aut in castra suorum reciperent aut nonnulli pudore coacti longius profugerent. Quorum periculo sic omnes copiae sunt perturbatae, ut vix iudicari posset, utrum secundis minimisque rebus insolentiores an adverso mediocri casu timidiores essent. 14. Compluribus diebus isdem in castris consumptis cum propius accessisse legiones et Gaium Trebonium legatum cognossent, duces Bellovacorum veriti similem obsessionem Alesiae noctu dimittunt eos, quos aut aetate aut viribus inferiores

aut inermes habebant, unaque reliqua impedimenta. Quorum perturbatum et confusum dum explicant agmen (magna enim multitudo carrorum etiam expeditos sequi Gallos consuevit), oppressi luce copias armatorum pro suis instruunt castris, ne prius Romani persequi se inciperent, quam longius agmen impedimentorum suorum processisset. At Caesar neque resistentes adgrediundos tanto collis ascensu iudicabat neque non usque eo legiones admovendas, ut discedere ex eo loco sine periculo barbari militibus instantibus non possent. Ita, cum palude impedita a castris castra dividi videret, quae transeundi difficultas celeritatem insequendi tardare posset, atque id iugum, quod trans paludem paene ad hostium castra pertineret, mediocri valle a castris eorum intercisum animum adverteret, pontibus palude constrata legiones traducit celeriterque in summam planitiem iugi pervenit, quae declivi fastigio duobus ab lateribus muniebatur. Ibi legionibus instructis ad ultimum iugum pervenit aciemque eo loco constituit, unde tormento missa tela in hostium cuneos conici possent. 15. Barbari confisi loci natura cum dimicare non recusarent, si forte Romani subire collem conarentur, paulatim copias distributas dimittere non possent, ne dispersi perturbarentur, in acie permanserunt. Quorum pertinacia cognita Caesar viginti cohortibus instructis castrisque eo loco metatis muniri iubet castra. Absolutis operibus pro vallo legiones instructas conlocat, equites frenatis equis in statione disponit. Bellovaci, cum Romanos ad insequendum paratos viderent neque pernoctare aut diutius permanere sine periculo eodem loco possent, tale consilium sui recipiendi ceperunt. Fasces, ut consueverant, per manus stramentorum ac virgultorum, quorum summa erat in castris copia, inter se traditos ante aciem conlocarunt extremoque tempore diei signo pronuntiato uno tempore incenderunt. Ita conti-

nens flamma copias omnes repente a conspectu texit Romanorum. Quod ubi accidit, barbari vehementissimo cursu refugerunt. 16. Caesar, etsi discessum hostium animadvertere non poterat incendiis oppositis, tamen id consilium cum fugae causa initum suspicaretur, legiones promovet turmas mittit ad insequendum; ipse veritus insidias, ne forte in eodem loco subsistere hostis atque elicere nostros in locum conaretur iniquum, tardius procedit. Equites cum intrare summum iugum et flammam densissimam timerent ac, si qui cupidius intraverant, vix suorum ipsi priores partes animadverterent equorum, insidias veriti liberam facultatem sui recipiendi Bellovacis dederunt. Ita fuga timoris simul calliditatisque plena sine ullo detrimento milia non amplius decem progressi hostes loco munitissimo castra posuerunt. Inde cum saepe in insidiis equites peditesque disponerent, magna detrimenta Romanis in pabulationibus inferebant. 17. Quod cum crebrius accideret, ex captivo quodam comperit Caesar Correum, Bellovacorum ducem, fortissimorum milia sex peditum delegisse equitesque ex omni numero mille, quos in insidiis eo loco conlocaret, quem in locum propter copiam frumenti ac pabuli Romanos missuros suspicaretur. Quo cognito consilio legiones plures, quam solebat, educit equitatumque, qua consuetudine pabulatoribus mittere praesidio consuerat, praemittit: huic interponit auxilia levis armaturae; ipse cum legionibus quam potest maxime adpropinquat. 18. Hostes in insidiis dispositi cum sibi delegissent campum ad rem gerendam non amplius patentem in omnes partes passibus mille, silvis undique aut impeditissimo flumine munitum, velut indagine hunc insidiis circumdederunt. Explorato hostium consilio nostri ad proeliandum animo atque armis parati cum subsequentibus legionibus nullam dimicationem recusarent turmatim in eum locum devenerunt. Quorum adventu cum

sibi Correus oblatam occasionem rei gerendae existimaret, primum cum paucis se ostendit atque in proximas turmas impetum fecit. Nostri constanter incursum sustinent insidiatorum, neque plures in unum locum conveniunt; quod plerumque equestribus proeliis cum propter aliquem timorem accidit, tum multitudine ipsorum detrimentum accipitur. 19. Cum dispositis turmis in vicem rari proelientur neque ab lateribus circumveniri suos paterentur, erumpunt ceteri Correo proeliante ex silvis. Fit magna contentione diversum proelium. Quod cum diutius pari Marte iniretur, paulatim ex silvis instructa multitudine procedit peditum, quae nostros coëgit cedere equites. Quibus celeriter subveniunt levis armaturae pedites, quos ante legiones missos docui, turmisque nostrorum interpositi constanter proeliantur. Pugnatur aliquamdiu pari contentione; deinde, ut ratio postulabat proelii, qui sustinuerant primos impetus insidiarum, hoc ipso fiunt superiores, quod nullum ab insidiantibus imprudentes acceperant detrimentum. Accedunt propius interim legiones, crebrique eodem tempore et nostris et hostibus nuntii adferuntur imperatorem instructis copiis adesse. Qua re cognita praesidio cohortium confisi nostri acerrime proeliantur, ne, si tardius rem gessissent, victoriae gloriam communicasse cum legionibus viderentur; hostes concidunt animis atque itineribus diversis fugam quaerunt. Nequiquam: nam quibus difficultatibus locorum Romanos claudere voluerant, iis ipsi tenebantur. Victi tamen perculsique maiore parte amissa consternati profugiunt partim silvis petitis, partim flumine (qui tamen in fuga a nostris acriter insequentibus conficiuntur), cum interim nulla calamitate victus Correus excedere proelio silvasque petere aut invitantibus nostris ad deditionem potuit adduci, quin fortissime proeliando compluresque vulnerando cogeret elatos iracundia victores in se tela

conicere. 20. Tali modo re gesta recentibus proelii vestigiis ingressus Caesar, cum victos tanta calamitate existumaret hostes nuntio accepto locum castrorum relicturos, quae non longius ab ea caede abesse plus minus octo milibus dicebantur, tametsi flumine impeditum transitum videbat, tamen exercitu traducto progreditur. At Bellovaci reliquaeque civitates repente ex fuga paucis atque his vulneratis receptis, qui silvarum beneficio casum evitaverant, omnibus adversis, cognita calamitate, interfecto Correo, amisso equitatu et fortissimis peditibus cum adventare Romanos existimarent, concilio repente cantu tubarum convocato conclamant, legati obsidesque ad Caesarem mittantur. 21. Hoc omnibus probato consilio Commius Atrebas ad eos confugit Germanos, a quibus ad id bellum auxilia mutuatus erat. Ceteri e vestigio mittunt ad Caesarem legatos petuntque, ut ea poena sit contentus hostium, quam si sine dimicatione inferre integris posset, pro sua clementia atque humanitate numquam profecto esset inlaturus. Adflictas opes equestri proelio Bellovacorum esse; delectorum peditum multa milia interisse, vix refugisse nuntios caedis. Tamen magnum, ut in tanta calamitate, Bellovacos eo proelio commodum esse consecutos, quod Correus, auctor belli, concitator multitudinis, esset interfectus. Numquam enim senatum tantum in civitate illo vivo, quantum imperitam plebem, potuisse. 22. Haec orantibus legatis commemorat Caesar: Eodem tempore superiore anno Bellovacos ceterasque Galliae civitates suscepisse bellum: pertinacissime hos ex omnibus in sententia permansisse neque ad sanitatem reliquorum deditione esse perductos. Scire atque intellegere se causam peccati facillime mortuis delegari. Neminem vero tantum pollere, ut invitis principibus, resistente senatu, omnibus bonis repugnantibus infirma manu plebis bellum concitare et gerere posset; sed tamen se contentum fore ea poena quam sibi ipsi contraxissent.

23. Nocte insequenti legati responsa ad suos referunt, obsides conficiunt. Concurrunt reliquarum civitatium legati, quae Bellovacorum speculabantur eventum. Obsides dant, imperata faciunt excepto Commio, quem timor prohibebat cuiusquam fidei suam committere salutem. Nam superiore anno T. Labienus Caesare in Gallia citeriore ius dicente cum Commium comperisset sollicitare civitates et coniurationem contra Caesarem facere, infidelitatem eius sine ulla perfidia iudicavit comprimi posse. Quem quia non arbitrabatur vocatum in castra venturum, ne temptando cautiorem faceret, Gaium Volusenum Quadratum misit, qui eum per simulationem conloquii curaret interficiendum. Ad eam rem delectos idoneos ei tradit centuriones. Cum in conloquium ventum esset et, ut convenerat, manum Commii Volusenus arripuisset, centurio vel insueta re permotus vel celeriter a familiaribus prohibitus Commii conficere hominem non potuit; graviter tamen primo ictu gladio caput percussit. Cum utrimque gladii destricti essent, non tam pugnandi quam diffugiendi fuit utrorumque consilium : nostrorum, quod mortifero vulnere Commium credebant adfectum, Gallorum, quod insidiis cognitis plura quam videbant extimescebant. Quo facto statuisse Commius dicebatur numquam in conspectum cuiusquam Romani venire.

24. Bellicosissimis gentibus devictis Caesar cum videret nullam iam esse civitatem, quae bellum pararet, quo sibi resisteret, sed nonnullos ex oppidis demigrare, ex agris diffugere ad praesens imperium evitandum, plures in partes exercitum dimittere constituit. M. Antonium quaestorem cum legione duodecima sibi coniungit. C. Fabium legatum cum cohortibus XXV mittit in diversissimam partem Galliae, quod ibi quasdam civitates in armis esse audiebat, neque C. Caninium Rebilum legatum, qui in illis regionibus erat,

satis firmas duas legiones habere existumabat. T. Labienum ad se evocat; legionem autem XV, quae cum eo fuerat in hibernis, in togatam Galliam mittit ad colonias civium Romanorum tuendas, ne quod simile incommodum accideret decursione barbarorum, ac superiore aestate Tergestinis acciderat, qui repentino latrocinio atque impetu Illyriorum erant oppressi. Ipse ad vastandos depopulandosque fines Ambiorigis proficiscitur; quem perterritum ac fugientem cum redigi posse in suam potestatem desperasset, proximum suae dignitatis esse ducebat, adeo fines eius vastare civibus, aedificiis, pecore, ut odio suorum Ambiorix, si quos fortuna reliquos fecisset, nullum reditum propter tantas calamitates haberet in civitatem. 25. Cum in omnes partes finium Ambiorigis aut legiones aut auxilia dimisisset atque omnia caedibus, incendiis, rapinis vastasset, magno numero hominum interfecto aut capto Labienum cum duabus legionibus in Treveros mittit, quorum civitas propter Germaniae vicinitatem cotidianis exercitata bellis cultu et feritate non multum a Germanis differebat neque imperata umquam nisi exercitu coacta faciebat.

26. Interim Gaius Caninius legatus, cum magnam multitudinem convenisse hostium in fines Pictonum litteris nuntiisque Durati cognosceret, qui perpetuo in amicitia manserat Romanorum, cum pars quaedam civitatis eius defecisset, ad oppidum Lemonum contendit. Quo cum adventaret atque ex captivis certius cognosceret multis hominum milibus a Dumnaco, duce Andium, Duratium clausum Lemoni oppugnari neque infirmas legiones hostibus committere auderet, castra posuit loco munito. Dumnacus, cum adpropinquare Caninium cognosset, copiis omnibus ad legiones conversis castra Romanorum oppugnare instituit. Cum complures dies in oppugnatione consumpsisset et magno suorum detrimento nullam partem munitionum con-

vellere potuisset, rursus ad obsidendum Lemonum redit. 27. Eodem tempore C. Fabius legatus complures civitates in fidem recipit, obsidibus firmat litterisque Gai Canini Rebili fit certior, quae in Pictonibus gerantur. Quibus rebus cognitis proficiscitur ad auxilium Duratio ferendum. At Dumnacus adventu Fabii cognito desperata salute, si tempore eodem coactus esset et externum sustinere hostem et respicere ac timere oppidanos, repente ex eo loco cum copiis recedit nec se satis tutum fore arbitratur, nisi flumine Ligeri, quod erat ponte propter magnitudinem transeundum, copias traduxisset. Fabius etsi nondum in conspectum venerat hostibus neque se Caninio coniunxerat, tamen doctus ab iis, qui locorum noverant naturam, potissimum credidit hostes perterritos eum locum, quem petebant, petituros. Itaque cum copiis ad eundem pontem contendit equitatumque tantum procedere ante agmen imperat legionum, quantum cum processisset, sine defetigatione equorum in eadem se reciperet castra. Consequuntur equites nostri, ut erat praeceptum, invaduntque Dumnaci agmen et fugientes perterritosque sub sarcinis in itinere adgressi magna praeda multis interfectis potiuntur. Ita re bene gesta se recipiunt in castra. 28. Insequenti nocte Fabius equites praemittit sic paratos, ut confligerent atque omne agmen morarentur, dum consequeretur ipse. Cuius praeceptis ut res gereretur, Q. Atius Varus, praefectus equitum, singularis et animi et prudentiae vir, suos hortatur agmenque hostium consecutus turmas partim idoneis locis disponit, parte equitum proelium committit. Confligit audacius equitatus hostium succedentibus sibi peditibus; qui toto agmine subsistentes equitibus suis contra nostros ferunt auxilium. Fit proelium acri certamine. Namque nostri contemptis pridie superatis hostibus, cum subsequi legiones meminissent, et pudore cedendi et cupiditate per se confici-

endi proelii fortissime contra pedites proeliabantur, hostesque nihil amplius copiarum accessurum credentes, ut pridie cognoverant, delendi equitatus nostri nancti occasionem videbantur. 29. Cum aliquamdiu summa contentione dimicaretur, Dumnacus instruit aciem, quae suis esset equitibus in vicem praesidio : cum repente confertae legiones in conspectum hostium veniunt. Quibus visis perculsae barbarorum turmae ac perterritae acies hostium perturbato impedimentorum agmine magno clamore discursuque passim fugae se mandant. At nostri equites, qui paulo ante cum resistentibus fortissime conflixerant, laetitia victoriae elati magno undique clamore sublato cedentibus circumfusi, quantum equorum vires ad persequendum dextraeque ad caedendum valent, tantum eo proelio interficiunt. Itaque amplius milibus XII aut armatorum aut eorum, qui eo tempore arma proiecerant, interfectis omnis multitudo capitur impedimentorum.

30. Qua ex fuga cum constaret Drappetem Senonem, —qui, ut primum defecerat Gallia, conlectis undique perditis hominibus, servis ad libertatem vocatis, exulibus omnium civitatum ascitis, receptis latronibus impedimenta et commeatus Romanorum interceperat—non amplius hominum milibus ex fuga quinque collectis provinciam petere unaque consilium cum eo Lucterium Cadurcum cepisse, quem superiore commentario prima defectione Galliae facere in provinciam voluisse impetum cognitum est, Caninius legatus cum legionibus duabus ad eos persequendos contendit, ne detrimento aut timore provinciae magna infamia perditorum hominum latrociniis caperetur.

31. Gaius Fabius cum reliquo exercitu in Carnutes ceterasque proficiscitur civitates, quarum eo proelio, quod cum Dumnaco fecerat, copias esse accisas sciebat. Non enim dubitabat, quin recenti calamitate summissiores essent

futurae, dato vero spatio ac tempore eodem instigante Dumnaco possent concitari. Qua in re summa felicitas celeritasque in recipiendis civitatibus Fabium consequitur. Nam Carnutes, qui saepe vexati numquam pacis fecerant mentionem, datis obsidibus veniunt in deditionem, ceteraeque civitates positae in ultimis Galliae finibus, Oceano coniunctae, quae Armoricae appellantur, auctoritate adductae Carnutum adventu Fabii legionumque imperata sine mora faciunt. Dumnacus suis finibus expulsus errans latitansque solus extremas Galliae regiones petere est coactus.

32. At Drappes unaque Lucterius cum legiones Caniniumque adesse cognoscerent nec se sine certa pernicie persequente exercitu putarent provinciae fines intrare posse nec iam libere vagandi latrociniorumque faciendorum facultatem haberent, in finibus consistunt Cadurcorum. Ibi cum Lucterius apud suos cives quondam integris rebus multum potuisset semperque auctor novorum consiliorum magnam apud barbaros auctoritatem haberet, oppidum Uxellodunum, quod in clientela fuerat eius, egregie natura loci munitum, occupat suis et Drappetis copiis oppidanosque sibi coniungit. 33. Quo cum confestim Gaius Caninius venisset animadverteretque omnes oppidi partes praeruptissimis saxis esse munitas, quo defendente nullo tamen armatis ascendere esset difficile, magna autem impedimenta oppidanorum videret, quae si clandestina fuga subtrahere conarentur, effugere non modo equitatum, sed ne legiones quidem possent, tripertito cohortibus divisis trina excelsissimo loco castra fecit; a quibus paulatim, quantum copiae patiebantur, vallum in oppidi circuitum ducere instituit.

34. Quod cum animadverterent oppidani miserrimaque Alesiae memoria solliciti similem casum obsessionis vere-

rentur, maximeque ex omnibus Lucterius, qui fortunae illius periculum fecerat, moneret frumenti rationem esse habendam, constituunt omnium consensu parte ibi relicta copiarum ipsi cum expeditis ad importandum frumentum proficisci. Eo consilio probato proxima nocte duobus milibus armatorum relictis reliquos ex oppido Drappes et Lucterius educunt. Hi paucos dies morati ex finibus Cadurcorum, qui partim re frumentaria sublevare eos cupiebant, partim prohibere, quo minus sumerent, non poterant, magnum numerum frumenti comparant, nonnumquam autem expeditionibus nocturnis castella nostrorum adoriuntur. Quam ob causam Gaius Caninius toto oppido munitiones circumdare moratur, ne aut opus effectum tueri non possit aut plurimis in locis infirma disponat praesidia. 35. Magna copia frumenti comparata considunt Drappes et Lucterius non longius ab oppido x milibus, unde paulatim frumentum in oppidum supportarent. Ipsi inter se provincias partiuntur: Drappes castris praesidio cum parte copiarum restitit, Lucterius agmen iumentorum ad oppidum ducit. Dispositis ibi praesidiis hora noctis circiter decima silvestribus angustisque itineribus frumentum importare in oppidum instituit. Quorum strepitum vigiles castrorum cum sensissent, exploratoresque missi quae gererentur renuntiassent, Caninius celeriter cum cohortibus armatis ex proximis castellis in frumentarios sub ipsam lucem impetum fecit. Ii repentino malo perterriti diffugiunt ad sua praesidia; quae nostri ut viderunt acrius contra armatos incitati neminem ex eo numero vivum capi patiuntur. Profugit inde cum paucis Lucterius nec se recipit in castra.

36. Re bene gesta Caninius ex captivis comperit partem copiarum cum Drappete esse in castris a milibus non amplius xii. Qua re ex compluribus cognita cum intellegeret fugato duce altero perterritos reliquos facile

opprimi posse, magnae felicitatis esse arbitrabatur neminem ex caede refugisse in castra, qui de accepta calamitate nuntium Drappeti perferret. Sed in experiundo cum periculum nullum videret, equitatum omnem Germanosque pedites, summae velocitatis homines, ad castra hostium praemittit; ipse legionem unam in trina castra distribuit, alteram secum expeditam ducit. Cum propius hostes accessisset, ab exploratoribus, quos praemiserat, cognoscit castra eorum, ut barbarorum fere consuetudo est, relictis locis superioribus ad ripas esse fluminis demissa; at Germanos equitesque imprudentibus omnibus de improviso advolasse proeliumque commisisse. Qua re cognita legionem armatam instructamque adducit. Ita repente omnibus ex partibus signo dato loca superiora capiuntur. Quod ubi accidit, Germani equitesque signis legionis visis vehementissime proeliantur. Confestim cohortes undique impetum faciunt omnibusque aut interfectis aut captis magna praeda potiuntur. Capitur ipse eo proelio Drappes.

37. Caninius felicissime re gesta sine ullo paene militis vulnere ad obsidendos oppidanos revertitur externoque hoste deleto, cuius timore antea dividere praesidia et munitione oppidanos circumdare prohibitus erat, opera undique imperat administrari. Venit eodem cum suis copiis postero die Gaius Fabius partemque oppidi sumit ad obsidendum. 38. Caesar interim M. Antonium quaestorem cum cohortibus XV in Bellovacis relinquit, ne qua rursus novorum consiliorum capiendorum Belgis facultas daretur. Ipse reliquas civitates adit, obsides plures imperat, timentes omnium animos consolatione sanat. Cum in Carnutes venisset, quorum in civitate superiore commentario Caesar exposuit initium belli esse ortum, quod praecipue eos propter conscientiam facti timere animadvertebat, quo celerius civitatem timore liberaret, principem sceleris illius

et concitatorem belli Gutruatum ad supplicium depoposcit. Qui etsi ne civibus quidem suis se committebat, tamen celeriter omnium cura quaesitus in castra perducitur. Cogitur in eius supplicium Caesar contra suam naturam concursu maximo militum, qui ei omnia pericula et detrimenta belli accepta referebant, adeo ut verberibus exanimatum corpus securi feriretur.

39. Ibi crebris litteris Caninii fit certior, quae de Drappete et Lucterio gesta essent quoque in consilio permanerent oppidani. Quorum etsi paucitatem contemnebat, tamen pertinaciam magna poena esse adficiendam iudicabat, ne universa Gallia non sibi vires defuisse ad resistendum Romanis, sed constantiam putaret, neve hoc exemplo ceterae civitates locorum opportunitate fretae se vindicarent in libertatem, cum omnibus Gallis notum esse sciret reliquam esse unam aestatem suae provinciae, quam si sustinere potuissent, nullum ultra periculum vererentur. Itaque Q. Calenum legatum cum legionibus reliquit, qui iustis itineribus subsequeretur. Ipse cum omni equitatu quam potest celerrime ad Caninium contendit. 40. Cum contra expectationem omnium Caesar Uxellodunum venisset oppidumque operibus clausum animadverteret neque ab oppugnatione recedi videret ulla condicione posse, magna autem copia frumenti abundare oppidanos ex perfugis cognosset, aqua prohibere hostem temptare coepit. Flumen infimam vallem dividebat, quae totum paene montem cingebat, in quo positum erat praeruptum undique oppidum Uxellodunum. Hoc avertere loci natura prohibebat: in infimis enim sic radicibus montis ferebatur, ut nullam in partem depressis fossis derivari posset. Erat autem oppidanis difficilis et praeruptus eo descensus, ut prohibentibus nostris sine vulneribus ac periculo vitae neque adire flumen neque arduo se recipere possent ascensu. Qua difficultate eorum

cognita Caesar sagittariis funditoribusque dispositis, tormentis etiam quibusdam locis contra facillimos descensus conlocatis, aqua fluminis prohibebat oppidanos. 41. Quorum omnis postea multitudo aquatorum unum in locum conveniebat sub ipsius oppidi murum, ubi magnus fons aquae prorumpebat ab ea parte, quae fere pedum CCC intervallo fluminis circuitu vacabat. Hoc fonte prohiberi posse oppidanos cum optarent reliqui, Caesar unus videret, e regione eius vineas agere adversus montem et aggerem instruere coepit magno cum labore et continua dimicatione. Oppidani enim loco superiore decurrunt et eminus sine periculo proeliantur multosque pertinaciter succedentes vulnerant; non deterrentur tamen milites nostri vineas proferre et labore atque operibus locorum vincere difficultates. Eodem tempore cuniculos tectos ab vineis agunt ad caput fontis; quod genus operis sine ullo periculo, sine suspicione hostium facere licebat. Exstruitur agger in altitudinem pedum sexaginta, conlocatur in eo turris x tabulatorum, non quidem quae moenibus aequaret (id enim nullis operibus effici poterat), sed quae superare fontis fastigium posset. Ex ea cum tela tormentis iacerentur ad fontis aditum, nec sine periculo possent aquari oppidani, non tantum pecora atque iumenta, sed etiam magna hostium multitudo siti consumebatur. 42. Quo malo perterriti oppidani cupas sevo, pice, scandulis complent, eas ardentes in opera provolvunt, eodemque tempore acerrime proeliantur, ut ab incendio restinguendo dimicationis periculo deterreant Romanos. Magna repente in ipsis operibus flamma extitit. Quaecumque enim per locum praecipitem missa erant, ea vineis et aggere suppressa comprehendebant id ipsum, quod morabatur. Milites contra nostri quamquam periculoso genere proelii locoque iniquo premebantur, tamen omnia fortissimo sustinebant animo. Res enim gerebatur et

excelso loco et in conspectu exercitus nostri magnusque utrimque clamor oriebatur. Ita quam quisque poterat maxime insignis, quo notior testatiorque virtus esset eius, telis hostium flammaeque se offerebat. 43. Caesar cum complures suos vulnerari videret, ex omnibus oppidi partibus cohortes montem ascendere et simulatione moenium occupandorum clamorem undique iubet tollere. Quo facto perterriti oppidani cum quid ageretur in locis reliquis essent suspensi, revocant ab impugnandis operibus armatos murisque disponunt. Ita nostri fine proelii facto celeriter opera flamma comprehensa partim restinguunt, partim interscindunt. Cum pertinaciter resisterent oppidani, magna etiam parte amissa siti suorum in sententia permanerent, ad postremum cuniculis venae fontis intercisae sunt atque aversae. Quo facto repente perennis exaruit fons tantamque attulit oppidanis salutis desperationem, ut id non hominum consilio, sed deorum voluntate factum putarent. Itaque se necessitate coacti tradiderunt.

44. Caesar, cum suam lenitatem cognitam omnibus sciret neque vereretur, ne quid crudelitate naturae videretur asperius fecisse, neque exitum consiliorum suorum animadverteret, si tali ratione diversis in locis plures consilia inissent, exemplo supplicii deterrendos reliquos existimavit. Itaque omnibus, qui arma tulerant, manus praecidit vitamque concessit, quo testatior esset poena improborum. Drappes, quem captum esse a Caninio docui, sive indignitate et dolore vinculorum sive timore gravioris supplicii paucis diebus cibo se abstinuit atque ita interiit. Eodem tempore Lucterius, quem profugisse ex proelio scripsi, cum in potestatem venisset Epasnacti Arverni—crebro enim mutandis locis multorum fidei se committebat, quod nusquam diutius sine periculo commoraturus videbatur, cum sibi conscius esset, quam inimicum deberet

Caesarem habere—hunc Epasnactus Arvernus, amicissimus populi Romani, sine dubitatione ulla vinctum ad Caesarem deduxit.

45. Labienus interim in Treveris equestre proelium facit secundum compluribusque Treveris interfectis et Germanis, qui nullis adversus Romanos auxilia denegabant, principes eorum vivos redigit in suam potestatem atque in his Surum Aeduum, qui et virtutis et generis summam nobilitatem habebat solusque ex Aeduis ad id tempus permanserat in armis.

46. Ea re cognita Caesar cum in omnibus partibus Galliae bene res geri videret iudicaretque superioribus aestivis Galliam devictam subactamque esse, Aquitaniam numquam ipse adisset, per P. Crassum quadam ex parte devicisset, cum duabus legionibus in eam partem Galliae est profectus, ut ibi extremum tempus consumeret aestivorum. Quam rem sicuti cetera celeriter feliciterque confecit. Namque omnes Aquitaniae civitates legatos ad Caesarem miserunt obsidesque ei dederunt. Quibus rebus gestis ipse equitum praesidio Narbonem profectus est, exercitum per legatos in hiberna deduxit: quattuor legiones in Belgio conlocavit cum M. Antonio et C. Trebonio et P. Vatinio legatis, duas legiones in Aeduos deduxit, quorum in omni Gallia summam esse auctoritatem sciebat, duas in Turonis ad fines Carnutum posuit, quae omnem illam regionem coniunctam Oceano continerent, duas reliquas in Lemovicum finibus non longe ab Arvernis, ne qua pars Galliae vacua ab exercitu esset. Paucos dies ipse in provincia moratus, cum celeriter omnes conventus percucurrisset, publicas controversias cognosset, bene meritis praemia tribuisset—cognoscendi enim maximam facultatem habebat, quali quisque fuisset animo in totius Galliae defectione, quam sustinuerat fidelitate atque auxiliis provinciae illius—,

his confectis rebus ad legiones in Belgium se recepit hibernavitque Nemetocennae.

47. Ibi cognoscit Commium Atrebatem proelio cum equitatu suo contendisse. Nam cum Antonius in hiberna venisset, civitasque Atrebatum in officio esset, Commius, qui post illam vulnerationem, quam supra commemoravi, semper ad omnes motus paratus suis civibus esse consuesset, ne consilia belli quaerentibus auctor armorum duxque deesset, parente Romanis civitate cum suis equitibus latrociniis se suosque alebat infestisque itineribus commeatus complures, qui comportabantur in hiberna Romanorum, intercipiebat. 48. Erat attributus Antonio praefectus equitum C. Volusenus Quadratus, qui cum eo hibernaret. Hunc Antonius ad persequendum equitatum hostium mittit. Volusenus ad eam virtutem, quae singularis erat in eo, magnum odium Commii adiungebat, quo libentius id faceret, quod imperabatur. Itaque dispositis insidiis saepius equites eius adgressus secunda proelia faciebat. Novissime cum vehementius contenderetur ac Volusenus ipsius intercipiendi Commii cupiditate pertinacius eum cum paucis insecutus esset, ille autem fuga vehementi Volusenum produxisset longius, inimicus homini repente suorum invocat fidem atque auxilium, ne sua vulnera per fidem imposita paterentur impunita, conversoque equo se a ceteris incautius permittit in praefectum. Faciunt hoc idem omnes eius equites paucosque nostros convertunt atque insequuntur. Commius incensum calcaribus equum coniungit equo Quadrati lanceaque infesta magnis viribus medium femur traicit Voluseni. Praefecto vulnerato non dubitant nostri resistere et conversis equis hostem pellere. Quod ubi accidit, complures hostium magno nostrorum impetu perculsi vulnerantur ac partim in fuga proteruntur, partim intercipiuntur; quod malum dux equi velocitate evitavit: ac sic proelio

secundo graviter ab eo vulneratus praefectus, ut vitae periculum aditurus videretur, refertur in castra. Commius autem sive expiato suo dolore sive magna parte amissa suorum legatos ad Antonium mittit seque et ibi futurum, ubi praescripserit, et ea facturum, quae imperarit, obsidibus firmat; unum illud orat, ut timori suo concedatur, ne in conspectum veniat cuiusquam Romani. Cuius postulationem Antonius cum iudicaret ab iusto nasci timore, veniam petenti dedit, obsides accepit.

Scio Caesarem singulorum annorum singulos commentarios confecisse; quod ego non existimavi mihi esse faciendum, propterea quod insequens annus, L. Paulo, C. Marcello consulibus, nullas habet magno opere Galliae res gestas. Ne quis tamen ignoraret, quibus in locis Caesar exercitusque eo tempore fuissent, pauca esse scribenda coniungendaque huic commentario statui.

49. Caesar in Belgio cum hiemaret, unum illud propositum habebat continere in amicitia civitates, nulli spem aut causam dare armorum. Nihil enim minus volebat quam sub decessu suo necessitatem sibi aliquam imponi belli gerendi, ne, cum exercitum deducturus esset, bellum aliquod relinqueretur, quod omnis Gallia libenter sine praesenti periculo susciperet. Itaque honorifice civitates appellando, principes maximis praemiis adficiendo, nulla onera iniungendo defessam tot adversis proeliis Galliam condicione parendi meliore facile in pace continuit.

50. Ipse hibernis peractis contra consuetudinem in Italiam quam maximis itineribus est profectus, ut municipia et colonias appellaret, quibus M. Antonii, quaestoris sui, commendaverat sacerdotii petitionem. Contendebat enim gratia cum libenter pro homine sibi coniunctissimo, quem paulo ante praemiserat ad petitionem, tum acriter contra factionem et potentiam paucorum, qui M. Antonii repulsa

Caesaris decedentis gratiam convellere cupiebant. Hunc etsi augurem prius factum, quam Italiam attingeret, in itinere audierat, tamen non minus iustam sibi causam municipia et colonias adeundi existimavit, ut iis gratias ageret, quod frequentiam atque officium suum Antonio praestitissent, simulque se et honorem suum sequentis anni commendaret, propterea quod insolenter adversarii sui gloriarentur L. Lentulum et C. Marcellum consules creatos, qui omnem honorem et dignitatem Caesaris spoliarent, ereptum Ser. Galbae consulatum, cum is multo plus gratia suffragiisque valuisset, quod sibi coniunctus et familiaritate et consuetudine legationis esset. 51. Exceptus est Caesaris adventus ab omnibus municipiis et coloniis incredibili honore atque amore. Tum primum enim veniebat ab illo universae Galliae bello. Nihil relinquebatur, quod ad ornatum portarum, itinerum, locorum omnium, qua Caesar iturus erat, excogitari poterat. Cum liberis omnis multitudo obviam procedebat, hostiae omnibus locis immolabantur, tricliniis stratis fora templaque occupabantur, ut vel expectatissimi triumphi laetitia praecipi posset. Tanta erat magnificentia apud opulentiores, cupiditas apud humiliores.

52. Cum omnes regiones Galliae togatae Caesar percucurrisset, summa celeritate ad exercitum Nemetocennam rediit legionibusque ex omnibus hibernis ad fines Treverorum evocatis eo profectus est ibique exercitum lustravit. T. Labienum Galliae praefecit togatae, quo maiore commendatione conciliaretur ad consulatus petitionem. Ipse tantum itinerum faciebat, quantum satis esse ad mutationem locorum propter salubritatem existimabat. Ibi quamquam crebro audiebat Labienum ab inimicis suis sollicitari certiorque fiebat id agi paucorum consiliis, ut interposita senatus auctoritate aliqua parte exercitus spoliaretur, tamen neque

de Labieno credidit quicquam neque, contra senatus auctoritatem ut aliquid faceret, adduci potuit. Iudicabat enim liberis sententiis patrum conscriptorum causam suam facile obtineri. Nam C. Curio, tribunus plebis, cum Caesaris causam dignitatemque defendendam suscepisset, saepe erat sènatui pollicitus, si quem timor armorum Caesaris laederet, quoniam Pompei dominatio atque arma non minimum terrorem foro inferrent, discederet uterque ab armis exercitusque dimitteret, fore eo facto liberam et sui iuris civitatem. Neque hoc tantum pollicitus est, sed etiam sc per discessionem facere coepit; quod ne fieret consules amicique Pompei iusserunt atque ita rem moderando discusserunt. 53. Magnum hoc testimonium senatus erat universi conveniensque superiori facto. Nam Marcellus proximo anno cum impugnaret Caesaris dignitatem, contra legem Pompei et Crassi retulerat ante tempus ad senatum de Caesaris provinciis, sententiisque dictis discessionem faciente Marcello, qui sibi omnem dignitatem ex Caesaris invidia quaerebat, senatus frequens in alia omnia transiit. Quibus non frangebantur animi inimicorum Caesaris, sed admonebantur, quo maiores pararent necessitates, quibus cogi posset senatus id probare, quod ipsi constituissent.

54. Fit deinde senatusconsultum, ut ad bellum Parthicum legio una a Cn. Pompeio, altera a C. Caesare mitteretur; neque obscure duae legiones uni detrahuntur. Nam Cn. Pompeius legionem primam, quam ad Caesarem miserat, confectam ex dilectu provinciae Caesaris, eam tamquam ex suo numero dedit. Caesar tamen, cum de voluntate minime dubium esset adversariorum suorum, Pompeio legionem remisit et suo nomine XV, quam in Gallia citeriore habuerat, ex senatusconsulto iubet tradi. In eius locum XIII legionem in Italiam mittit, quae praesidia tueretur, ex

quibus praesidiis xv deducebatur. Ipse exercitui distribuit hiberna: C. Trebonium cum legionibus quattuor in Belgio collocat, C. Fabium cum totidem in Aeduos deducit. Sic enim existimabat tutissimam fore Galliam, si Belgae, quorum maxima virtus, Aedui, quorum auctoritas summa esset, exercitibus continerentur. Ipse in Italiam profectus est.

55. Quo cum venisset, cognoscit per C. Marcellum consulem legiones duas ab se remissas, quae ex senatusconsulto deberent ad Parthicum bellum duci, Cn. Pompeio traditas atque in Italia retentas esse. Hoc facto quamquam nulli erat dubium, quidnam contra Caesarem pararetur, tamen Caesar omnia patienda esse statuit, quoad sibi spes aliqua relinqueretur iure potius disceptandi quam belligerandi. Contendit....

NOTES.

BOOK VIII.

Preface.

p. 1. 1 *Balbe*] L. Cornelius Balbus, a native of Gades (Cadiz). He was Caesar's *praefectus fabrum* in Spain and Gaul and was constantly employed by his chief in negotiations at Rome. In B.C. 40, towards the close of the year, he was appointed consul with P. Canidius Crassus, after the compulsory retirement of Cn. Domitius Calvinus and C. Asinius Pollio who had held office since the beginning of the year. Pliny, N. H. VII. 136, says that Balbus was the first foreigner to gain the high distinction of the Roman consulship. Further information respecting him may be found in Mr Reid's preface to his edition of Cicero's speech *pro L. Cornelio Balbo.*

2 *difficultatis excusationem*] 'plea of difficulty', cf. *aetatis excusatio* in 12 and B. C. I. 85: *excusare difficultatem*='to plead difficulty as an excuse'.

inertiae deprecationem] this seems to mean 'a shrinking from the task through idleness': Hirtius feared that his constant refusal to comply with Balbus' request might seem due to indolence.

3 *habere*] 'to involve', 'carry with it'.

4 *Galliae*] gen. after *rerum gestarum*, cf. *Alexandriae* below, and *Cenabi caede* VII. 28, unless *Cenabi* be a strict locative.

5 *comparentes*] 'extant'; on the reading of this passage see appendix.

6 *novissimumque imperfectum*] supply *scriptum.* Hirtius means the *bellum civile* in 3 books. In III. 106 Caesar begins to describe the events that gave rise to the Alexandrian war (B.C. 48, 47) and the treatise ends with the words *haec initia belli Alexandrini fuerunt.* That Caesar intended his work to end here is extremely improbable. It is generally supposed that Hirtius wrote the *bellum Alexandrinum*, but the *bellum Africanum* and *Hispaniense* are thought from a difference of style to come from a different hand. Yet in this dedicatory epistle Hirtius distinctly says that he carried on his history to the death of

Caesar; we must assume then either that a great part of his history has perished or that he is here speaking of work contemplated rather than of work performed, and that its completion was hindered by his death in 43. This dedication must have been written after Caesar's death in 44, probably in the summer. Aulus Hirtius fell with his colleague Vibius Pansa in the battle of Mutina on April 27th, 43, that fatal day *cum cecidit fato consul uterque pari* as Ovid says. Hirtius was very intimate with Balbus, cf. Cic. Att. XIV. 20 (written in May 44) *Hirtius vivit habitatque cum Balbo.*

12 *nihil tam operose*] 'that no work has been so elaborately finished by others as not to be surpassed by the elegance of these commentaries', or more freely, 'no other work however elaborate can rival the elegance of these commentaries'. *operosus* is frequently used of careful literary composition, as by Horace Odes IV. 2. 31 *operosa parvus carmina fingo.* Ferd. Becher points out in Philol. XLII. 409 that *tam operose* almost = *quamvis operose*, since "*opera* is not the tertium comparationis but *facultas atque elegantia scribendi*". The fact is the sentence is slightly illogical, but there is no need to attach any recondite meaning to *tam operose.* Becher cf. Cic. Att. VIII. 4 § 2 and other passages where there is a similar want of logical precision.

16 *ut praerepta non praebita*] observe the rhetorical conceit of *praerepta...praebita* and compare *recusatio...excusationem* in the first sentence. It is probably impossible to preserve the assonance in a literal translation; perhaps one might venture on some such paraphrase as 'seems to have prohibited rather than promoted the historical enquiries of others'. With this passage cf. Cic. Brut. 262 *atque etiam commentarios quosdam scripsit rerum suarum. valde quidem inquam probandos. nudi enim sunt, recti et venusti, omni ornatu orationis tanquam veste detracta. sed dum voluit, alios habere parata unde sumerent qui vellent scribere historiam, ineptis gratiam fortasse fecit, qui volent illa calamistris inurere; sanos quidem homines a scribendo deterruit: nihil enim est in historia pura et illustri brevitate dulcius.* These passages are interesting as showing the esteem in which the commentaries were already held.

19 *celeriter*] *celeritas* was conspicuous in all that Caesar did. It is worthy of note that the adverb *celeriter* occurs about 80 times in the 7 books of the Gallic War.

p. 2. 1 *verissima scientia*] 'the most unerring skill in explaining his plans': as Hirtius is here speaking of Caesar's merits as a writer the word *explicandorum* must be used of lucid exposition; Caesar does not use the word in the B. G., in B. C. I. 78 it is found with *consilium* in a slightly different sense *ibi se reliquum consilium explicaturos confidebant.*

2 *Alexandrino atque Africano bello*] Caesar went to Alexandria in October 48, the Alexandrians surrendered in March 47. At the end of 47 Caesar left Italy for Africa where Pompey's two sons Sextus and Gnaeus together with Metellus Scipio and others were carrying on the war. The battle of Thapsus was fought on April 6, 46, and on June

13 Caesar started for Rome. Hirtius appears to have been in Achaia while Caesar was in Alexandria, Cic. ep. Att. XI. 14; he was with Caesar in Antioch in the summer of 47; in 46 before Caesar's return from Africa he was at Praeneste, Cic. Fam. IX. 6. See Nipperdey's Quaestiones p. 8 foll.

4 *tamen aliter*] 'yet it is with different feelings that we give ear to events which strike us by their novelty or strangeness and to those to which we are about to bear testimony ourselves'. *admiratione*, 'by (exciting) wonder', i.e. 'by their strangeness'. For *pro testimonio* cf. Cic. Att. I. 16 § 2 *neque dixi quidquam pro testimonio;* Rosc. Am. 101.

8 *hoc ipsum*] 'I am rendering myself liable to this very charge of arrogance'.

CHAP. 1.

10 *a superiore aestate*] 'from the previous summer', i.e. of 53 since which time there had been no long cessation of hostilities. Hirtius is now speaking of the winter rest of 52—51, in this book he describes the events of the years 51 and 50.

Caesar cum] notice the transposition of the name: the logical order would be *cum Caesar*, so in VII. 17 *quin etiam Caesar cum in opere singulas legiones appellaret...universi ab eo ne id faceret petebant.*

16 *resisti posse Romanis*] 'the Romans could be resisted'; the insertion of *a* before *Romanis* spoils the sense. The Gauls knew that no multitude that they could gather together would suffice to resist the Romans (they had experienced this at Alesia), yet that if a number of tribes took up arms independently in different parts of Gaul (*diversa*) the Romans would not be strong enough to cope with them all at once. This is what Hirtius means though his language here and elsewhere is lacking in clearness and precision.

20 *sortem incommodi*] cf. 12 *huius mali sors.*

21 *se vindicare in libertatem*] lit. 'claim themselves for freedom', i.e. 'assert their freedom', cf. 39 and VII. 1 *Galliam in libertatem vindicent*: the phrase is of legal origin.

CHAP. 2.

22 *M. Antonium quaestorem*] the duties of the military quaestor were chiefly financial; he was the paymaster of the troops and probably had some power of jurisdiction as well; special quarters, called *quaestorium*, were assigned to him in the camp. The importance of his position may be gathered from Cic. acc. in Verr. I. 40 *itane vero? tu cum quaestor ad exercitum missus sis, custos non solum pecuniae, sed etiam consulis, particeps omnium rerum consiliorumque fueris, habitus sis in liberum loco sicut mos maiorum ferebat, repente relinquas, deseras, ad adversarios*

transeas? In B. G. I. 52 we read of a quaestor being put in command of a legion. The M. Antonius here mentioned is the celebrated Marc Antony.

23 *suis hibernis*] at Bibracte situate on M. Beuvray, near Autun: cf. VII. 90 *ipse Bibracte hiemare constituit.* In I. 23 Caesar speaks of it as *oppidum Aeduorum longe maximum et copiosissimum.* The Bituriges were neighbours of the Aedui on the west.

24 *legionem* XIII] the MSS all have XII, but see 11 *legio* XIII *quam cum T. Sextio in Biturigibus hiemarat*, and a comparison of VII. 51 *hanc rursus* XIII *legionis cohortes exceperunt quae ex castris minoribus eductae cum T. Sextio legato ceperant locum superiorem* with VII. 91 where we read that Caesar sends T. Sextius with a single legion to the Bituriges makes it certain that XIII is the right reading here. The legion may have been stationed at Avaricum (Bourges).

26 *quae proxima fuerat*] this must be the legion under the command of C. Antistius Reginus stationed among the Ambivareti who were *clientes* of the Aedui in whose immediate neighbourhood they dwelt. The rest of the legions were thus distributed; T. Labienus with two among the Sequani probably at Vesontio (Besançon), C. Fabius and L. M. Basilus with two among the Remi at Durocortorum (Rheims), C. Rebilus with one among the Ruteni, perhaps at Rodez, Q. Cicero and P. Sulpicius at Cabillonum (Châlons sur Saône) and Matisco (Macon) with two. The following table may be useful for reference:

Officer in command.	Headquarters.	Numbers of legions.
Caesar	Bibracte	X and XII
Labienus	Vesontio	VII and XV
Fabius	Durocortorum	VIII and IX
Q. Cicero, P. Sulpicius	Châlons and Macon	VI and XIV
Reginus	Ambivareti	XI
Sextius	Avaricum	XIII
Rebilus	Rodez	I

Thus there were at this time 11 legions in Gaul representing a force of perhaps about 35000 men (foot-soldiers) besides a few thousand cavalry. All the particulars of the above table must not be regarded as certain; see Nipperdey, Quaestiones 117 foll; Napoleon, Histoire II. 315; Göler, Cäsar's Gallischer Krieg ed. 2, 333.

27 *fuerat*] 'had been' next to it, i.e. before the XIIIth was removed.

28 *relictis*] at the head quarters of the XIIIth legion, probably Avaricum.

29 *complura*] this form is more correct than *compluria* which was chiefly used by the early writers. The spelling of the word was discussed by the Romans themselves, cf. A. Gellius V. 21.

30 *potuerint*] subj. because *qui* is causal; 'inasmuch as it has not proved possible to keep them in check'.

CHAP. 3.

32 *imparatis disiectisque*] probably ablative absolute.

p. 3. 1 *quod...consuevit*] I cannot accept Kraner's view that *quod* is a conjunction and that *incursio* has to be supplied as the subject of *consuevit*; this is to do violence to the natural sequence and construction of the words. The sentence is no doubt illogical if *quod* be taken as the relative, but not so much so as to obscure the sense: 'for even that customary sign of a hostile raid which is wont to be understood by the burning of homesteads was omitted', or as we might say in more idiomatic English 'that sign of a hostile raid which burning homesteads furnish was omitted.' Why did not Kraner suggest the alteration of *quod* to *quae*? *quae* might easily have been corrupted to *quod* after *signum*.

3 *aedificiorum*] *aedificia* are mostly the granaries in which the corn was stored up, so that the burning of them would be prejudicial to the Romans as well as to the natives.

4 *interdicto*] 'by Caesar's prohibition'; we should say 'by Caesar's order'. Cf. V. 58 *praecipit atque interdicit.*

si...vellet] 'in case of his wishing'.

copia...deficeretur] *copia* is ablative and *Caesar* is the subject of *deficeretur*. Caesar would probably have written *copia* (nominative) *deficeret*, cf. VI. 16 *sed cum eius generis copia deficit:* the passive *deficior* does not appear to occur in the B. G.; in B. C. III. 64 Caesar writes *cum aquilifer a viribus deficeretur;* cf. Ovid Her. V. 148 *deficior prudens artis ab arte mea.*

9 *frustra*] used elliptically again in 5 *nec frustra;* so too *nequiquam* 19: cf. Hor. Od. III. 7. 21 *frustra, nam scopulis surdior Icari | voces audit adhuc integer.* Caesar would hardly have used the word so.

10 *nec dat*] Caesar forces each tribe to look to its own safety without troubling itself about the welfare of its neighbours.

12 *fideles amicos retinebat*] 'kept his friends loyal'. *dubitantes* 'the waverers', cf. VII. 4, 63.

CHAP. 4.

19 *brumalibus diebus*] 'short winter days': *bruma* is no doubt for *brevima* superlative of *brevis.*

frigoribus] the plural is used because the idea of periods of cold, cold seasons, is prominent; so in V. 12 *loca sunt temperatiora quam in Gallia, remissioribus frigoribus.*

21 *tot milia nummum*] 'as many thousand sesterces' i.e. the centurions had as many thousands as the common soldiers had hundreds, viz. two. The amount given to the centurion was usually twice that given to the

common soldier: 200 sesterces would be £1. 13. 4, and 2000 £16. 13. 4. For various proposed alterations of the text see appendix.

praedae nomine condonata] 'granted under the name of booty': it was called booty but was really a grant from the military exchequer.

23 *die xxxx*] Caesar started on Dec. 31, hence he returned about Feb. 8.

24 *Carnutes*] neighbours of the Bituriges on the north. Cenabum, afterwards called civitas Aurelianorum and now Orléans, was their chief settlement.

26 *decem et octo*] this would make the date of his second departure from Bibracte about Feb. 26. Observe that *amplius* does not affect the construction of the words with which it is placed, cf. VII. 15 *amplius xx urbes* where *urbes* is nominative, so infra 10.

27 *legiones* XIIII *et* VI] under the command of Q. Cicero (the orator's brother) and P. Sulpicius. They were stationed at Châlons and Macon, cf. VII. 91.

28 *explicandae rei frumentariae*] 'facilitating the corn supply'. The provisions for the army were carried up the Rhone and Saône.

CHAP. 5.

31 *ducti*] 'induced': perhaps Hirtius wrote *docti*.

32 *vicis oppidisque*] 'villages and strongholds': the Gallic *oppidum* was a large entrenchment for which a naturally strong site was usually selected.

p. 4. 1. *nuper devicti*] during the previous year, cf. VII. 11.

dimiserant] 'had given up'; cf. V. 18 *ripas dimitterent* and elsewhere.

5 *quae conlectis...inaedificata*] 'which had been constructed there, after straw had been hastily collected for the purpose of roofing over the huts': the words *tentoriorum integendorum gratia* are awkward and unsuitable and should perhaps be expunged. The *tecta* are subdivided into *partim Gallorum* and *partim quae* etc.; Caesar quartered his men in huts some of which were ready to hand, having been deserted by the Gauls, and others had to be hastily constructed by the Romans themselves. The compound *inaedificata* means 'built in the place', 'on the spot'.

6 *milites compegit*] 'thrust his men'. For the text of this passage see appendix.

10 *hiemis difficultate terrore periculi*] a good instance of the grammatical figure called 'chiasmus'.

11 *diutius*] 'for any length of time'.

12 *tempestatibus durissimis*] ablative of attendant circumstances.

13 *dispersi dissipantur*] cf. V. 58 *dispersi ac dissipati discedunt*.

CHAP. 6.

16 *initium belli nasceretur*] so B. C. III. 20, and see my note on V. 26.

17 *quantum in ratione esset*] 'so far as a prudent calculation could determine'.

exploratum haberet] lit. 'had it clearly ascertained', cf. II. 4 etc.

18 *sub tempus aestivorum*] 'just at the time of the summer encampment'; as Kraner says, *tempus aestivorum* is only a military circumlocution for *aestatem*. *sub* with acc. of time may mean 'just before', 'just after' or 'about', cf. Palmer on Hor. Sat. I. I. 10 with his addenda.

nullum summum bellum] 'no war of supreme importance'.

20 *habebat*] the subject of course is Caesar. The two legions are the VIth and XIVth which Caesar had summoned from the Saône.

21 *Bellovacos*] the Bellovaci gave their name to Beauvais. Caesar says of them in II. 4 *plurimum inter eos* (*Belgas*) *Bellovacos et virtute et auctoritate et hominum numero valere ; hos posse conficere armata milia centum*, *pollicitos ex eo numero electa sexaginta.*

22 *finitimas civitates*] some of these are mentioned by name in the next chapter,

23 *Atrebate*] the Atrebates occupied the neighbourhood of Arras the ancient Nemetocenna.

25 *Suessionum*] this tribe has left its name in Soissons the ancient Noviodunum : how this powerful tribe (for a short account of which see ii. 4) came to be stipendiaries (*attributi*) of the Remi is not clear.

26 *facerent impressionem*] 'make an inroad', cf. Varro R. R. II. 4, *hostes arbitrati occasionem se habere victoriae impressionem facere coeperunt;* Liv. iv. 28 *secuti dant impressionem.*

29 *legionem* XI] the XIth legion had been withdrawn from its winter quarters among the Ambivareti to take part in Caesar's invasion of the Bituriges, and after a 40 days' campaign sent back to its old head-quarters.

30 *legiones duas*] the VIIIth and IXth stationed among the Remi probably at Durocortorum (Rheims).

31 *alteramque*] the VIIth as we learn from 8. Labienus had the VIIth and XVth under his command. Caesar thus had 4 legions for this campaign, the VIIth, VIIIth, IXth and XIth.

32 *opportunitas*] 'suitableness' i.e. in respect of distance from the scene of war.

33 *perpetuo suo labore*] 'with no cessation of toil for himself'. Caesar made his legions take turns in bearing the burdens of warfare though he allowed himself no rest.

Chap. 7.

p. 5. 6 *atque hos, non qui*] 'and they too were not persons who'.

8 *remissi*] 'sent back' into the deserted *oppida* by the main body of the inhabitants who had migrated.

12 *Ambianos*] the Ambiani dwelt in the neighbourhood of Amiens which is named from them. The Aulerci Eburovices (so-called to distinguish them from another branch of the Aulerci) occupied the country south of the Seine near Evreux which is a corruption of the name Eburovices. The Caleti have perhaps left a trace of their name in the town of St Vallery en Caux in the department of Seine inférieure. The Veliocasses on the north bank of the Seine have left their name in the district of Vexin. Their chief *oppidum* was Rotomagus (Rouen). The memory of the Atrebates lingers in Arras.

locum] the various hints given by Hirtius as to the natural features of this locality should make its identification comparatively easy. It is usually placed on the south bank of the Aisne about 3 miles to the eastwards of its junction with the Oise. A little stream, the Ru de Berne, here flows into the Aisne. The converging course of this streamlet and the river forms a neck of land from 2 to 3 kilomètres across. The ground is of sufficient elevation to be called a hill and bears the name of M. St Marc: between M. St Marc and the river is a narrow tract of level ground along which runs the road from Compiègne to Soissons; on the south side of the Ru de Berne, and separated by it from M. St Marc, is M. St Pierre. Beyond these to the eastward, the Ru de Berne takes its rise in some low marshy ground in which are several small lakes, one of them perhaps 500 yards in length; the whole course of the Ru de Berne is fringed by marshes. On M. St Marc in the neck of land between the Aisne and the Ru de Berne it is generally supposed that the Bellovaci were encamped, while the Romans occupied M. St Pierre about one kilomètre to the south. Almost between the two hills and bisected by the streamlet lies the village of Vieux-Moulin. To the south and west extends the vast Forêt de Compiègne. On St Pierre is a ruined church, and there are distinct traces of a Roman encampment of which the tourist will find mention in Baedeker's Paris p. 322. A summary of the different views held on the subject of this campaign will be found in Desjardins II. 718 note. M. Desjardins himself despairs of a definite solution.

19 *quorum et vicinitas...infinita*] an artificially constructed and inelegant expression, to which one would scarcely find anything similar in Caesar.

27 *ex insidiis*] lit. 'from ambuscades' i.e. 'by setting ambuscades'.

Chap. 8.

29 *quae proponerentur*] *proponebantur* might have been written, in which case the relative clause would have been quite independent; the

subjunctive makes the statement less direct, 'which were said to be proposed'.

30 *temeritate*] Caesar often speaks of the *temeritas* of the Gauls, cf. VII. 42 *temeritas quae maxime illi hominum generi est innata*.

31 *omnibus rebus*] adverbial, 'in every way'.

inserviendum quo hostis prodiret] 'should use their efforts to induce the foe to come out'.

32 *suorum*] 'his men' i.e. the Romans.

p. 6. 2 *octavo iam stipendio*] the XIth legion was levied by Caesar in Italy in 58, the other three were taken from their winter-quarters at Aquileia the same year, cf. B. G. I. 10.

in conlatione reliquarum] 'in comparison with the rest'.

3 *vetustatis*] *vetustas* here almost = 'experience'; *opinionem* 'reputation'.

4 *consilio*] equivalent in sense to *concilium*, cf. III. 3 *consilio celeriter convocato* and my note in appendix to Book VI.

rebus iis quae essent] 'such matters as had been reported to him': rather more indefinite than *erant*.

5 *si posset*] 'to see if he could'; cf. VII. 89 *reservatis Aeduis atque Arvernis si per eos civitates recuperare posset*.

7 *legio*] notice that *legiones* followed by the singulars *septima*, *octava* would have been equally correct.

10 *in expeditionibus*] i.e. when the men marched *expediti:* the word *expeditio* only occurs once in the rest of the commentaries viz. B. G. V. 10.

cogeret] 'close', equivalent to *clauderet agmen*.

11 *accidere*] 'should be presented to': it would have been more natural to write *species ostendi hostibus posset*.

12 *paene quadrato agmine*] it was not quite a *quadratum agmen* as it would have been if a legion had marched on each side of the baggage as well as one in front and one behind.

13 *celerius opinione eorum*] cf. II. 3 *celerius omni opinione*.

CHAP. 9.

15 *acie*] line of battle, always opposed to *agmen* line of march.

19 *admiratus*] 'filled with astonishment at'.

20 *valle...patente*] 'on the other side of a valley which was deeply sunk rather than of wide extent' or 'which formed a deep depression out of proportion to its width'.

23 *loriculam*] a breastwork or parapet made of fascines (*crates*), cf. V. 40, VII. 72.

pro hac ratione eius altitudinis] *eius* is gen. after *altitudinis* and = *valli:* the words *pro hac ratione* seem to mean 'proportioned to this calculation' of its height, the *loricula* was to be of a size suitable to a rampart of 12 feet. I see no reason to adopt Madvig's *pro portione.* The *loricula* was built on (*inaedificare*) the *vallum.*

fossam duplicem] a line of two parallel ditches each 15 feet wide: these were dug on the slope of the hill just below the *vallum*, so that an attacking force trying to carry the position by assault would have to cross first one trench, then another a little higher up the slope, and finally the *vallum* or rampart surmounted by its *loricula.* Traces of all these works are said to exist still on M. St Pierre, and diagrams of them are given in Napoleon's Atlas.

24 *lateribus deprimi directis*] 'to be sunk with perpendicular sides'; that is, the trenches were to be the same width at the bottom as at the top. This must be the meaning of the words (cf. VII. 72 *fossam pedum* XX *directis lateribus duxit*), though Napoleon says that the existing remains do not bear out the statement.

25 *excitari*] *excitare* is frequently used of building; see note on III. 14.

26 *pontibus...coniungi*] *pontes* are gangways of planks thrown across (*traiectae*) from tower to tower and laid evenly together (*constratae*). The towers were erected at intervals on the *vallum* or rampart; hence men standing on the rampart would have the *pontes* over their heads and so be to a certain extent protected from falling missiles. There would possibly be three *pontes* one above another connecting the three *tabulata* (stories) of the towers, and from Hirtius' remark that the Roman bowmen were protected by their elevation I gather that they were stationed on the topmost *pons.*

frontes] the outward sides facing the enemy: they were fringed with parapets of twisted osier-work.

32 *portis*] the gates of the camp, i.e. openings in the surrounding ramparts. These openings were, for better security, fitted with doors (*fores*) and higher towers built on each side of them.

Chap. 10.

p. 7. 5 *palude*] the marsh skirting the Ru de Berne.

8 *eadem*] 'by the same way'.

summovebant] 'removed' 'thrust back': this word was commonly used of the Roman lictors who cleared a way for the consuls.

9 *id quod accidere erat necesse*] in 3 Hirtius wrote *quod accidere fuit necesse.*

10 *disiectis*] 'scattered' almost equivalent to *raris;* cf. 7 *pabulatione quae propter anni tempus cum exigua tum disiecta esset.*

14 *stultas cogitationes incitabat*] 'stimulated the foolish fancies of the barbarians'.

16 *docui*] in 7.

17 *amplius*] for the use of this word cf. supra 4 and VII. 15.

Germanorum adventu] Hirtius would have done better to have written *eorum adventu.*

CHAP. 11.

19 *castris*] ablative of place.

22 *Trebonium*] at Cenabum: the two legions under his command were the VIth and the XIVth; cf. 6.

27 *pabulationibus*] 'forage-parties'.

CHAP. 12.

29 *quod cum...diuturnitate*] 'as these assaults took place day after day and constant exposure was now relaxing the strictness of discipline, the usual result when men become habituated to attack'. An exactly literal translation would be impossible.

31 *delecta manu*] ablative of means, to be taken with *insidias disponunt. locis* is ablative of place.

p. 8. 1 *cuius*] the iambic rhythm of the words *cuius mali sors incidit Remis, quibus* is worth a passing notice, as well as the hexametric rhythm of *Re* | *mis quibus ille dies fungendi muneris obve* | *nerat*, and cf. the hexameter in 46. With *mali sors* cf. *sortem incommodi* in 1.

2 *fungendi muneris*] *fungor* is in some authors used with a direct object in the accusative, hence the admissability of this use of the gerundive. Draeger Hist. Synt. I. 569, Roby § 1223. For the genitive cf. IV. 14 *neque consilii habendi neque arma capiendi spatio dato.* Roby § 1280.

6 *consuetudo fert*] cf. VI. 7 *maiore strepitu et tumultu quam populi Romani fert consuetudo*, IV. 32 *pulverem maiorem quam consuetudo ferret.*

8 *praefecto equitum*] Hirtius gives a Roman designation to a Gallic officer.

9 *aetatis excusatione*] cf. praef. *difficultatis excusatio.*

14 *disponere*] the simple infinitive after *admonere* is somewhat rare though not unknown to Cicero.

moderatius] to be taken with *insequi* 'to be less eager in pursuit of'.

CHAP. 13.

17 *paludis*] the Etang de la Rouillie and the surrounding marshy ground in which the Ru de Berne rises.

19 *equitibus interpositi*] the Germans habitually practised this method of fighting; see the description of it in I. 48, and mention of a similar custom among the Gauls in VII. 18; cf. infra 36.

20 *paucis resistentibus interfectis*] 'after killing the few who resisted them'.

22 *comminus opprimebantur*] 'were overwhelmed in hand-to-hand conflict'.

23 *subsidiari*] 'stand in reserve': the word is said not to occur elsewhere'.

25 *amissis*] in consequence of their panic they 'lost' their positions of the higher ground.

quam se aut] notice the misplacement of *aut;* the *se* belongs only to *reciperent* and should logically have come after *aut.* Kraner cf. VI. 25 *qui se aut adisse dicat...aut...acceperit.*

26 *nonnulli*] 'in some cases': the word is in apposition to *Germani* the subject of *profugerent.*

29 *adverso mediocri casu*] *adverso* and *mediocri* are not coordinate epithets of *casu*, but *adverso casu* is regarded as almost a single word = 'mischance', 'reverse', and *mediocri* qualifies them, 'a slight reverse': cf. note on *equestri proelio levi* in VII. 36.

Chap. 14.

32 *similem obsessionem Alesiae*] *Alesiae* is probably genitive, 'a blockade like 'to Alesia' i.e. 'a blockade like the blockade of Alesia'. This abbreviated form of comparison is not uncommon and is noticed in my note on VI. 22. For the construction of *similis* see my note on V. 53.

p. 9. 2 *explicant*] 'marshal', 'set in order', lit. 'disentangle'.

3 *carrorum*] the *carrus* was a two-wheeled vehicle.

6 *agmen impedimentorum*] 'baggage-train'.

7 *at Caesar*] 'but Caesar decided that on the one hand he ought not to attack the enemy while standing their ground, on the other, that it would be well to bring up his legions so near as to prevent the barbarians from quitting their position without risk, in the face of the Roman troops'. The sentence is rendered somewhat obscure by the double *neque...neque non;* it might have been expressed in simpler language thus:—*et resistentes non aggrediundos...et* (*tamen*) *usque eo legiones* etc. The parallelism of the two *neque*'s may be preserved as in the translation above by the words 'on the one hand' and 'on the other hand'.

resistentes] this refers to the Gallic troops mentioned in the previous sentence as having been drawn up in front of the camp.

10 *impedita*] 'embarrassing'.

12 *id iugum*] M. Collet which, as Hirtius says, extends alongside the marsh and almost joins M. St. Marc on which the Bellovaci were encamped, only a small ravine (*mediocri valle*) separating the two.

14 *pontibus*] 'gangways', raised paths or dams.

15 *in summam planitiem iugi*] Caesar appears to have crossed the marsh of the Ru de Berne just below the Etang de la Rouillie and then to have ascended the gentle slopes of M. Collet, keeping along its level plateau (*planitiem iugi*) till he approached the *mediocris vallis* mentioned above which separates M. Collet from the higher elevation of M. St. Marc.

17 *ultimum iugum*] the edge or limit of the ridge.

18 *eo loco unde*] 'in such a position that from it'.

tormento] a machine for throwing missiles.

CHAP. 15.

19 *barbari*] 'the barbarians confident in the nature of the ground, not refusing to fight in case the Romans should attempt to ascend the hill (M. St. Marc) nor able to send their forces away by degrees in small detachments, for fear they should be thrown into confusion when dispersed, remained still in their position'.

20 *cum non recusarent...non possent*] the subjunctive with *cum* ('while they did not refuse' etc.) may be best represented in English by present participles 'not refusing', 'not being able' as below *cum viderent...neque possent* 'seeing', 'not being able'.

23 *pertinacia*] 'obstinacy' cf. my note on I. 42.

24 *castris eo loco metatis*] *metari castra* is to measure out the ground for a camp, to pitch a camp. *eo loco* on the extremity of the ridge of M Collet or "on the heights that lie immediately to the right of the Ru du Berne" (Kampen). Notice the unpleasant repetition of *castra* after *castris*, which might easily have been avoided.

metatis] the active form *meto* (presupposed here) is rarely found being only quoted from Vergil Culex 172. The deponent *metari* is frequent but occurs only once in Caesar, in B. C. III. 13.

27 *cum viderent*] see note above on *cum non recusarent.*

29 *sui recipiendi*] this use of the genitive of the possessive *suus* where the accusative plural *se* would be more natural is frequent in Caesar; see my note on V. 38; cf. 16 *facultatem sui recipiendi.*

30 *fasces stramentorum*] 'bundles of straw'. On the text of this passage see appendix.

per manus inter se traditos] 'handed on from one to another' cf. VII. 25 note.

33 *uno tempore*] the near repetition of *tempore* is a mark of hasty writing.

continens flamma] 'a continuous wall of flame'.

Chap. 16.

p. 10. 6 *turmas*] 'troops of cavalry'. To each legion was attached a body of 300 cavalry divided into 10 turmae; each *turma* had a *vexillum* of its own and was commanded by three officers called *decuriones* and three of lower grade called *optiones*. Kraner remarks that Caesar does not use the word *turma* to denote a body of cavalry without some explanatory word such as *equitum*.

9 *intrare*] on the text of this passage see appendix.

timerent] *timere* with infinitive is less common than *vereri* with infinitive; cf. B.C. I. 64, III. 73; Dräger Hist. Synt. II. 328.

10 *vix...equorum*] we should say 'could scarcely see their horses' heads'.

11 *animadverterent*] this word seems scarcely suitable here; one would have expected *viderent* or *videre possent*; but *animadverto* (or *animum adverto*) is a favourite word with Hirtius; I learn from Holder's index that in his 55 chapters it occurs 10 times as against 8 times in the 90 chapters of Caesar's Bk VII. and 24 times in Caesar's seven books altogether.

14 *loco munitissimo*] no doubt on M Ganelon northward of Compiègne from which it is separated by the Aisne, though the distance given, viz. 10 miles, is an exaggeration unless we suppose that they fled to the further end of the hill.

15 *inde*] 'thence': they made this retreat their base of operations and sent out ambuscade parties from it.

16 *detrimenta*] *detrimentum* is another favourite word with Hirtius who uses it 9 times as against 9 times in the whole of Caesar's seven books.

Chap. 17.

20 *eo loco*] the locality is more exactly described in the next chapter, *campum ad rem gerendam*, etc.

quos conlocaret] 'with the intention of placing them' = *ut eos conlocaret*.

22 *missuros*] used here absolutely without an object expressed.

suspicaretur] subjunctive, because the clause is suboblique—'whither, as Caesar was informed, he suspected that the Romans would send' etc.

23 *qua consuetudine...consuerat*] 'according to his usual custom of sending them to protect the foragers'.

Chap. 18.

27 *campum*] this is supposed by Napoleon and others to be the narrow plain of Choisy au Bac lying between a bend of the Aisne on the north and the Compiègne forest on the south, and about two or three miles from M St Marc.

29 *indagine*] this word exhibits an instance of *endo* or *indu* (cf. Greek *ἔνδον*) the old form of the preposition *in*, preserved in some compound words such as *endoperator*=*imperator* (used by Lucretius) and *indaudire* (Plautus).

31 *animo atque armis parati*] 'ready no less in spirit than equipment'.

subsequentibus legionibus] 'as the legions were close behind'. The cavalry (*nostri*) were quite ready to fight knowing that they were supported by the infantry.

32 *turmatim*] 'by troops'. Apparently the Romans had descended on the other (northern) side of M Collet and had marched along the strip of level ground between the Aisne and M St Marc, and so, crossing the Ru de Berne near its junction with the Aisne, entered the plain of Choisy au Bac. The enemy were concealed in the woods skirting the plain.

p. 11. 4 *quod plerumque...accipitur*] an awkwardly worded sentence: 'and generally when this (i.e. the overcrowding in a small space) happens in cavalry engagements through some panic, then the very multitude of the combatants causes some loss'.

CHAP. 19.

7 *rari*] 'here and there'. *invicem* 'each in his turn'. Apparently the officers took care that the same men and horses should not be exposed for too long a time.

proeliarentur] *proelium* and *proeliari* occur 8 times in this one chapter.

10 *diversum*] 'scattered'.

11 *iniretur*] *inire* scarcely seems a suitable word to denote the duration of an engagement.

14 *docui*] supra 17.

22 *nostri*] the cavalry with the light-armed footsoldiers who were fighting with them.

24 *hostes concidunt animis*] 'the spirits of the enemy fall'.

25 *nequiquam*] cf. Hirtius' use of *frustra* in 3 and 5.

30 *excedere*] infinitive after *adduci*, cf. the infinitive after *admoneri* in 12.

nulla calamitate victus potuit]=*non ulla calamitate victus potuit*, as in translation the negative has to be taken closely with *potuit*.

CHAP. 20.

p. 12. 1 *vestigiis ingressus*] Cicero Rep. VI. 26 has *vestigiis patris ingredi* while Livy XXXVII. 53 has *vestigia* in a similar connection.

4 *milibus*] the ablative is governed by *longius* and the words *plus minus* 'more or less' are used parenthetically and independently, as in a fragment of Ennius *septingenti sunt paulo plus aut minus anni:* see appendix.

7 *atque his*] 'and they too'.

8 *silvarum beneficio*] 'thanks to the woods', cf. I. 53 *sortium beneficio se esse incolumem.*

11 *cantu tubarum*] 'at the sound of trumpet'.

12 *legati...mittantur*] 'let us send envoys and hostages to Caesar'.

CHAP. 21.

13 *omnibus*] dative: 'this design having approved itself to all'.

14 *mutuatus erat*] *mutuari* in its literal sense of borrowing is generally used with reference to money; see the Lexx., so *mutuum* means a loan of money.

15 *e vestigio*] 'forthwith'.

18 *nunquam profecto esset inlaturus*] 'he would surely never feel disposed to inflict at all'. The barbarians say that they had been utterly ruined in the contest; had it been in Caesar's power to inflict this ruin on them without a battle and while their power was unimpaired (*integris*), he would have been far too generous to do it; let him then be content with the disasters they had suffered in war and not add to their sufferings.

20 *ut in tanta calamitate*] 'considering the vastness of the calamity' i.e. as far as there could be any *commodum* in such a calamity.

23 *senatum*] a Roman term adopted by Hirtius to express the council of Gallic elders, as by Caesar in VII. 32 and elsewhere. Correus had put himself at the head of a popular rising; cf. I. 17 *esse nonnullos quorum auctoritas apud plebem plurimum valeat, qui privatim plus possint quam ipsi magistratus*, said of the Aeduan Dumnorix.

24 *quantum imperitam plebem*] the nominative *imperita plebs* might have been used, but the nominative in the subordinate relative clause is attracted into the accusative and infinitive construction.

CHAP. 22.

28 *sanitatem*] cf. I. 42 *ad sanitatem reverti*, VII. 42, bell. Alex. 24, and *animos sanat* in 38 of this book.

29 *scire atque intellegere*] 'he knows right well', Doberenz and Dinter, who remark that in such pairs of verbs the second characterises the first, cf. VI. 9 *petunt atque orant* 'they beg with earnest entreaties'.

causam] used like αἰτία 'the blame'.

30 *delegari*] this word is not used by Caesar nor by Cicero (with one doubtful exception).

neminem vero] Caesar rejects their excuse that Correus had thrown off the authority of the senate and encouraged the people to excesses.

31 *bonis*] another term drawn from the political life of Rome: 'the well-intentioned party', 'the friends of order'.

CHAP. 23.

p. 13. 3 *Bellovacorum speculabantur eventum*] 'were waiting to see the ultimate fate of the Bellovaci': cf. *navium eventum* in IV. 31.

7 *ius dicente*] = *conventus agente* which phrase is generally used by Caesar himself, cf. VII. 1 note.

8 *infidelitatem*] the word is rare; it occurs in B. C. II. 33.

9 *sine ulla perfidia*] we can scarcely believe that Caesar himself would have approved of such a villainous act as this of Labienus, though the Roman standard of honour was never very high. That Labienus had little sense of honour is shewn by his subsequent treachery to Caesar.

11 *Volusenum*] mentioned by Caesar in III. 5 as *tribunus militum, vir et consilii magni et virtutis.*

13 *ad eam rem*] to be taken closely with *delectos* 'chosen for this purpose'.

15 *manum arripuisset*] grasping the hand was with the ancients a pledge of good faith, cf. Cic. Phil. XI. 5 *dexterae quae fidei testes esse solebant;* pairs of clasped hands were sometimes wrought in precious metal and sent as a token of friendship, cf. Tac. H. I. 54.

16 *vel insueta re permotus vel*] one would like to feel that the first reason is the true one and that the centurion was prevented at the last moment by compunction and not by force from achieving this foul murder.

CHAP. 24.

26 *quo sibi resisteret*] 'for the purpose of resisting him'. The addition of this weak clause is hardly in Caesar's manner.

29 *M. Antonium*] Antonius had been stationed at Bibracte with Caesar; cf. note on the distribution of forces in 2.

30 *C. Fabium*] Fabius had commanded two legions among the Remi.

32 *audiebat*] 'he was told': the imperfect is usual, cf. II. 12, IV. 7 etc.

33 *C. Caninium Rebilum*] this officer had been ordered to the Ruteni, probably to Rodez, in command of the first legion, cf. VII. 90 and note on 2, but he is now said to have had two with him. Rüstow, Napoleon and Göler believe the other legion to have been the Xth which had previously been quartered at Bibracte. From 26, 27 one may perhaps

infer that Rebilus had never reached the Ruteni, but was somewhere in the territory of the Pictones; Napoleon quotes a statement of Orosius to the effect that Rebilus was detained on his way by an opposing force.

p. 14. 1 *firmas*] 'strong'.

T. Labienum] the legions with Labienus at Vesontio were probably the VIIth and the XVth.

3 *togatam Galliam*] Gallia Cisalpina, called *togata* because in it the Roman *toga* was worn, whereas Gaul beyond the Alps was often known as *Gallia comata* from the long hair worn by the natives.

colonias civium Romanorum] the Transpadane communities here mentioned were not exclusively colonies of Roman burgesses of which there were only four in Cisalpine Gaul, but 'Latin Colonies' established by Cn. Pompeius Strabo (father of Cn. Pompeius Magnus) in 89. There was a large Keltic element among the inhabitants of the Transpadane district, and when Strabo organised them into settled communities it was thought advisable instead of conferring the full Roman franchise on them at once, to give them temporarily the so-called Latin rights, *ius Latii*, which, while bestowing on them many privileges, excluded them from voting in elections at Rome and from serving in the legions; but it seems certain that Caesar levied soldiers from them, in which case he must have regarded them as Roman burgesses: 'it is possible', says Mommsen, 'that Caesar combined with the levy the bestowal of the franchise; but more probably he adhered to the standpoint of his party, which instead of seeking to procure for the Transpadanes the Roman franchise rather regarded it as already legally belonging to them'.

5 *decursione*] 'descent' a suitable word, as Kraner points out, to apply to barbarian hordes pouring down from the Alps.

Tergestinis] the inhabitants of Tergeste, Trieste.

7 *fines Ambiorigis*] Ambiorix was last mentioned in VI. 43 as a fugitive vainly pursued by Caesar. He originally shared with Catuvolcus the kingdom of the Eburones V. 24.

9 *proximum*] 'in the next degree' adverbial; *dignitatis* to be taken with *esse*, according to the well-known idiom; 'it became his dignity', 'it was incumbent on his dignity'. Hirtius means that the most desirable event was the capture and humiliation of Ambiorix himself; failing that, 'honour required' that his lands should be ravaged.

10 *vastare civibus*] this construction of *vastare* with ablative of that which is removed is quoted by L. and S. only from Vergil Aen. VIII. 8 *et latos vastant cultoribus agros* and Statius Theb. III. 576 *agrosque viris annosaque vastant oppida*. The ablatives with *vastare* in the next chapter are obviously of a different kind.

11 *reliquos fecisset*] 'should be found to have left': *fecisset* less direct and precise than *fecerat*.

CHAP. 25.

17 *propter Germaniae vicinitatem*] so in I. 1 Caesar says that the Helvetii are preeminent in valour *quod fere cotidianis proeliis cum Germanis contendunt.*

18 *non multum a Germanis differebat*] they affected a Germanic origin, cf. Tac. Germ. 28 quoted in my note on II. 24.

imperata faciebat] *imperata facere* is a constant phrase in Caesar for the submission of an inferior to a superior power.

CHAP. 26.

22 *Pictonum*] their name survives in Poitou and Poitiers. Lemonum mentioned below is the ancient name of the Gallic *oppidum* afterwards called Pictones (Poitiers). It is well known that most of these more important Gallic settlements, when they fell under the Roman occupation, lost their original names and were called after the tribe to whom they had belonged, e.g. Samarobriva, an *oppidum* of the Ambiani, was subsequently called Ambiani, whence its present name Amiens; so Paris, originally Lutetia, was named after the Parisii.

litteris nuntiisque] the same collocation in I. 26 *Caesar litteras nuntiosque misit* and elsewhere, so *fama* and *nuntii* are often combined.

24 *cum*] 'although'.

26 *multis hominum milibus*] ablative of the instrument or means; *Dumnaco* ablative of the agent: 'was blockaded by Dumnacus with several thousand men.'

27 *Andium*] the Andes occupied the country now called Anjou. They were separated by the Loire from the Pictones.

28 *infirmas*] the weakness of these two legions is mentioned in 24.

p. 15. 1. *rursus...redit*] the pleonasm is noticeable, so Caesar writes *rursus reverterunt*, IV. 4.

CHAP. 27.

2 *C. Fabius*] who had been sent by Caesar to the west of Gaul.

3 *obsidibus firmat*] 'confirms their allegiance by exacting hostages': a different use in 48 *Commius se ea facturum quae imperavit obsidibus firmat.*

litterisque...certior] Doberenz-Dinter remark on the curious way in which this clause is closely connected by *que* with the two preceding clauses *in fidem recipit* and *obsidibus firmat* though it is in no sense homogeneous with them.

7 *externum hostem*] 'an enemy from the outside' i.e. the Romans, as opposed to the besieged townspeople.

8 *respicere*] 'pay regard to': *respicere ac timere* occurs B. C. I. 5, (qu. by Doberenz).

11 *transeundum*] at Saumur according to Napoleon. 'At Saumur or at Angers', Göler.

13 *potissimum credidit*] 'thought it the most probable course.'

14 *quem petebant*] notice the indicative: 'which, as an actual fact, they were making for.'

16 *equitatum procedere imperat*] in the best authors *impero* is constructed either with the accusative and infinitive passive as in V. 7 *retrahi eum imperat* (or deponent as in VII. 60 *cohortes proficisci imperat*) or with *ut* and subjunctive. The accusative and infinitive active after *imperare* is found chiefly in poetry and the later prose writers. See Madvig Gram. § 396.

17 *quantum cum processisset*] 'as that when they had advanced thus far': the whole sentence is cumbrously expressed; Hirtius means that orders were given to the cavalry to precede the main body of the infantry only at such a distance that, if occasion arose, they could return to the intrenchments occupied by the legions without wearying their horses.

21 *magna praeda*] ablative after *potiuntur*, while *multis interfectis* is an ablative absolute.

Chap. 28.

23 *sic paratos ut*] sometimes *animo* is inserted as in vii. 19 *quos cum sic animo paratos videat ut*.

25 *gereretur*] *hortatur* is an historic present and therefore the imperfect is allowable in the dependent clause.

29 *succedentibus sibi peditibus*] an ablative absolute; 'the enemy's cavalry fight boldly, as their infantry were coming up to their support.' In the next sentence *qui* refers to the *pedites*, and the sentence is explanatory of the *succedentibus*, 'who halting throughout their whole line aid their horsemen against ours': the whole army of the Gauls, it will be remembered, were retreating before the Romans who were harassing their rear with cavalry; the Gallic horse at last made a stand, and then, when the cavalry engagement became general, the main body of the retreating Gauls halted and came to the support of their horse.

32 *contemptis pridie superatis hostibus*] 'despising the enemy whom they had conquered the day before'.

cum meminissent] 'remembering'.

p. 16. 2. *ut pridie cognoverant*] 'according to their experience of the day before'. On the previous day no reinforcements had been sent to the aid of the cavalry.

3 *nancti videbantur*] 'thought that they had gained'.

CHAP. 29.

6 *invicem*] 'in turn': detachments of infantry were sent one after the other to the support of the cavalry.

8 *turmae*] cavalry, *acies* infantry.

9 *discursu*] this word is not used by Caesar who has the verb *discurro* once.

13 *quantum...interficiunt*] this sentence cannot be translated literally: 'commence a slaughter which lasted as long as their hands had strength to kill or their horses to pursue'. *tantum* is a neuter accusative denoting the extent of the action of *interficere*, cf. Roby § 1095.

15 *amplius*] cf. note on 4.

CHAP. 30.

18 *Senonem*] one of the Senones who occupied the district around Sens.

19 *conlectis*] the double chiasmus in this sentence should be noticed. *conlectis hominibus*)(*servis vocatis* and *exulibus ascitis*)(*receptis latronibus*.

23 *petere*] the infinitive depends on *constaret.* The whole of this chapter consists of one long ill-expressed sentence.

24 *Lucterium Cadurcum*] for the account of Lucterius cf. VII. 5—7. *Cadurcus* one of the Cadurci, who gave their name to Cahors.

26 *provinciam*] the province of Gallia Braccata or Narbonensis constituted at the beginning of the first century B.C. See my note on I. I.

27 *cum legionibus duabus*] probably the Ist and Xth, see note on 24.

28 *ne detrimento...caperetur*] 'lest through injury or panic in (of) the province great disgrace should be incurred in consequence of the depredations of lawless men'.

CHAP. 31.

p. 17. I. *spatio ac tempore*] the two words bearing almost the same meaning are used for the sake of emphasis: 'if a sufficient space of time were granted them'. Sometimes *spatium* by itself denotes time as in 3 *nec dat ulli civitati spatium.*

3 *consequitur*] 'attends', 'falls to the lot of'.

4 *saepe vexati*] the participle is concessive 'though frequently harassed'.

nunquam...mentionem] the commentators point out that Hirtius has forgotten the overtures made by the Carnutes in B.C. 53, cf. VI. 4.

7 *Armoricae*] these states occupied, roughly speaking, the area of the present provinces of Bretagne and Normandie; see V. 53, VII. 75.

9 *Dumnacus*] 'Dumnacus driven from his territory, a fugitive and in hiding, was compelled to make his way alone to the farthest parts of Gaul.'

CHAP. 32.

17 *integris rebus*] 'while their power was unimpared'.

18 *multum potuisset*] 'had possessed much influence': *multum* is neuter accusative denoting the 'extent of action' of the verb; cf. Roby § 1094.

semperque auctor] 'and an advocate of revolution always carried great weight with the barbarians'.

20 *Uxellodunum*] it is now generally agreed that the ancient Uxellodunum was situated on the Puy d'Issolu one of the mountains of the Auvergne, in the department of Lot, between the rivers Dordogne, Tourmente and Sourdoie. It is on the right hand of the railway from Brives to Figeac. The small rivers or streams Tourmente and Sourdoie flow into the Dordogne with an interval of about a mile between; in this interval and about a mile from the Dordogne is the Puy d'Issolu which is from 900 to 1000 feet high.

CHAP. 33.

24 *quo...difficile*] an awkwardly constructed sentence due to Hirtius' fondness for relative clauses: 'whither, even though no one defended the position, it was nevertheless difficult for armed men to ascend'. The ablative absolute *defendente nullo* is virtually a concessive clause and is thus followed by *tamen*, as in III. 14 *turribus excitatis tamen has altitudo puppium ex barbaris navibus superabat.*

27 *non modo*] for *non modo non*; cf. my note on II. 17.

29 *excelsissimo loco*] of these three camps one is supposed to have been placed on Montbuisson an eminence on the west bank of the Tourmente, the second a little farther north near the village of Marbot, and the third on the north-east of the Puy d'Issolu on Pech Demont.

30 *in oppidi circuitum*] 'round the town', 'so as to make a circuit round the town'.

CHAP. 34.

33 *Alesiae*] the siege of Alesia is described at length in VII. 68—89.

similem casum obsessionis] 'a like disastrous blockade': *casus*, like ξυμφορά, a colourless neutral word, meaning 'that which befalls', 'a chance', came to be used generally in an unfavourable sense 'mischance', 'disaster'. *obsessionis* is genitive of quality or description, cf. the similar phrase *sortem incommodi* in 1.

p. 18. 1. *qui...fecerat*] 'who had experienced that perilous crisis'.

7 *qui partim*] the Cadurci, though not unwilling to furnish their

compatriots with provisions, at the same time could not, if they wished, prevent them from helping themselves to what they wanted.

8 *prohibere quominus*] Caesar appears not to use *quominus* with *prohibere*, though the usage is familiar to Cicero and Livy.

9 *numerum*] cf. VII. 38 *magnum numerum frumenti commeatusque diripit;* B. C. II. 18 *frumenti magnum numerum coegit.*

12 *toto oppido*] dative, *toto* being an irregular form for *toti*, cf. VII. 89.

circumdare moratur] a rare construction found chiefly in poetry.

CHAP. 35.

16 *unde supportarent*] = *ut inde supportarent.*

17 *ipsi...patiuntur*] 'the (two) leaders apportion their several tasks'.

18 *praesidio*] predicative dative, 'remained behind for a guard to the camp', 'remained behind to protect the camp': cf. Roby preface to vol. II.

19 *ducit*] the change of tense (*restitit...ducit*) should be noticed.

20 *hora noctis decima*] the 10th hour after sunset: assuming the sun to have set about 7 P.M. this would be 4 or 5 A.M., cf. below *sub ipsam lucem.*

23 *exploratoresque...renuntiassent*] 'and spies who had been sent out had reported what was going on'.

CHAP. 36.

31 *a milibus*] 'not more than 12 miles off': the word 'off' just expresses this use of *ab* with expressions of distance denoting the starting point from which the reckoning is made; cf. II. 7 *ab milibus passuum minus* II *castra posuerunt*, 30 *quod tanta machinatio ab tanto spatio instrueretur*, IV. 22 *quae ex eo loco ab milibus passuum* VIII *vento tenebantur*, VI. 7 *positis castris a milibus passuum* XV. The word *longe* found in the MSS after *milibus* could hardly be correct unless Caesar had written *a milibus ab oppido longe non amplius* XII. cf. VII. 16 *locum castris deligit ab Avarico longe milia passuum* XVI. See appendix.

p. 19. 1 *magnae felicitatis*] 'a token of great good luck'.

4 *Germanos pedites*] cf. note on 17.

6 *trina castra*] described in 33.

10 *fluminis*] probably the Dordogne.

CHAP. 37.

20 *externo hoste*] cf. 27 *externum sustinere hostem.*

21 *dividere*] almost = *disponere.*

22 *munitione oppidanos circumdare*] *circumdare* admits of two constructions, (i) *urbem muro circumdare*, (ii) *urbi murum circumdare*; an instance of ii occurs in 34 *toto oppido munitiones circumdare.*

23 *imperat administrari*] see note on 27 *procedere imperat.*

CHAP. 38.

25 *M. Antonium quaestorem*] the 15 cohorts seem to have consisted of the 10 cohorts of the XIIth legion, and half of another legion the other half of which had been sent with C. Fabius to the west of Gaul; cf. 24. What legion was thus divided is not clear; was it the Xth?

29 *sanat*] cf. B. C. I. 35 *reliqua quae ad eorum sanandas mentes pertinere arbitrabatur commemorat.*

30 *superiore commentario*] VII. 2.

31 *initium belli esse ortum*] the pleonasm is common in Caesar, cf. B. C. I. 35 *ne initium inferendi belli ab Massiliensibus oriatur*, and above 6 *initium belli nasceretur.*

p. 20. 1 *Gutruatum*] in VII. 3 the MSS all write the name *Cotuatus*, here they agree in *Gutruatus* or *Gutruatrus*. The same person is meant, but it does not follow of necessity that Caesar and Hirtius spelt the name in the same way.

6 *ei accepta referebant*] 'put down to his account': *acceptum referre* is a book-keeping phrase meaning 'to enter as received' i.e. to enter to the credit side; cf. Cic. Phil. II. 5 *omnia mala quae postea vidimus uni accepta referemus Antonio;* Caes. B. C. III. 57 *salutem imperii uni omnes acceptam relaturos.*

7 *securi feriretur*] 'was beheaded'. He was flogged to death first and then beheaded.

CHAP. 39.

8 *ibi*] in the country of the Carnutes.

14 *se vindicarent in libertatem*] 'should assert their liberty', lit. 'should claim themselves for liberty'; see note on 1.

16 *suae provinciae*] 'his administration'. Caesar's province was originally conferred on him for 5 years from B.C. 59 to 54, then renewed for another space of 5 years which would terminate in March, 49. The writer refers to the close of the summer of 51, and there was therefore only one more summer season before Caesar's term of office expired.

quam si sustinere potuissent] 'and if they should succeed in holding out through it' with *quam* (*aestatem*) *sustinere* cf. V. 39 *aegre is dies sustentatur.*

18 *qui subsequeretur*] 'who should follow' i.e. 'with orders to follow'.

iustis] 'regular'. Supposing Calenus to have been at Cenabum, he may have reached Uxellodunum in 12 or 14 days, the distance being somewhat over 200 miles. Caesar himself who hurried on with the cavalry would probably arrive in 7 or 8 days.

CHAP. 40.

25 *flumen*] if the Puy d'Issolu be really the site of Uxellodunum the word *flumen* must be applied vaguely to four streams, the Sourdoie, Dordogne, Tourmente and a little brook running into the last named, the four forming a circuit round the hill complete save for an interval of one Roman mile where the ground is rugged with a deep cross valley running through it. Kampen remarks that the case is simplified if the Sourdoie originally emptied itself into the Tourmente, which the configuration of the ground shows to have been possible.

29 *ferebatur*] 'it flowed'.

30 *derivari*] 'drawn off', cf. VII. 72 *aqua ex flumine derivata*, where Holder after the best MSS reads *dirivata*. The sense 'to derive' (one word from another) is found in Quintilian.

31 *eo*] 'thither'.

33 *arduo ascensu*] 'by the steep ascent': ablative of direction, Roby § 1176.

CHAP. 41.

p. 21. 4 *quorum*] the sentence is akwardly constructed, the relative having no definite antecedent.

5 *magnus fons aquae*] the position of this source has been established almost beyond question by the recent excavations. It issued from the west face of the rock and flowed into the Tourmente. But here a difficulty arises, for Hirtius says that it was on the side where for the space of 300 feet there was a break in the circuit of stream; but this break was on the opposite side and was moreover about a Roman mile in length. Hence Hirtius either makes a mistake, which is quite possible, or we may follow Kampen in supposing that he wrote *intervallo rupium* and not *intervallo fluminis*, a conjecture based on the fact that from the position occupied by the Roman camps the Puy d'Issolu actually does appear on that side for a distance of exactly 300 feet to be without the steep escarpment which runs round it, elsewhere of visible abruptness, as one may see from the views in Napoleon's Atlas, but just here of lower height and partially or entirely hidden from view.

8 *Caesar*] opposed to *reliqui; autem* might have been added: in Greek the antithesis would have been expressed by μέν...δέ, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι, ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ.

9 *vineas agere*] 'to move forward', *vineae* i.e. penthouses or sheds for sheltering the soldiers while at work.

13 *deterrentur proferre*] an unusual construction: the only other instances of it quoted by Draeger Hist. Synt. II. § 424 are from Cic. Verr. I. § 14 *commemorare pudore deterreor*, Liv. XLII. 3 *sociis deterritis id sacrilegium prohibere* and Bell. Afric. (not written by Caesar) 29 and 71.

15 *cuniculos*] these subways have been discovered in the course of the excavations.

17 *extruitur agger*] the mode of construction of an agger has been described in my note on VII. 22.

19 *moenibus*] the wall of the *oppidum*: this ran round the crest of the hill above the escarpment of rock and would of course be a great height above the plain. *aequare* in neuter sense 'to be equal to' often takes an accusative.

CHAP. 42.

25 *cupas*] 'tubs': the inhabitants of Marseilles when besieged adopted a similar device, B. C. II. 11 *cupas taeda ac pice refertas incendunt easque de muro in musculum devolvunt*.

scandulis] 'shingles'.

30 *suppressa*] 'checked' in their descent.

comprehendebant] 'set fire to': *comprehendere* is constantly used as here in reference to fire which 'catches' or 'gets a hold of' anything; it is also sometimes used of the thing burnt which is said to 'catch' fire, cf. V. 43 *hae* (*casae*) *celeriter ignem comprehenderunt*, and in 43 of this book *opera flamma comprehensa* 'works caught by the flame'.

p. 22. 2 *quam quisque*] = *ut quisque erat maxime insignis, ita quam maxime poterat*, Doberenz. See appendix.

3 *testatior*] the comparative occurs again in 44; Cicero uses it p. Cael. 64.

CHAP. 43.

4 *complures suos*] *suorum* would be more regular: with *suos*, *complures* must be taken as a secondary predicate, 'saw his men being wounded in great numbers'. Kraner compares I. 52 *reperti sunt complures nostri milites*.

8 *quid ageretur suspensi*] 'in suspense as to what was going on'.

9 *murisque*] a local ablative: some editors insert *in*.

11 *comprehensa*] cf. note on 42.

12 *etiam*] this appears to belong only to the words *magna...suorum* 'when even a great part' etc., and consequently the two clauses *cum...*

oppidani and *magna...permanerent* are not connected by any copula. This juxtaposition of two clauses having the same subject, without any connecting link, is extremely harsh; inelegant too though quite in Hirtius' manner is the position of *suorum*.

CHAP. **44.**

19 *suam lenitatem*] Caesar speaks of his habitual clemency in I. 14, 31.

21 *exitum*] 'any successful issue'.

23 *plures*] 'several tribes'.

27 *indignitate*] 'indignity'; there is no need to suppose that *indignitas* here = *indignatio*.

28 *paucis diebus*] for this ablative expressing 'time in the course of which' cf. Roby 1182.

cibo se abstinuit] *abstinere* is here a transitive verb governing *se;* it is also used as a neuter verb as in I. 22 *proelio abstinebat:* both constructions are common.

29 *Lucterius*] the sentence is slightly anacoluthic; instead of continuing *Lucterius...ab Epasnacto...deductus est*, Hirtius leaves the subject *Lucterius* without any finite verb, and concludes after the parenthesis *hunc Epasnactus...deduxit*.

33 *quam inimicum*] 'what a bitter foe he was bound to have in Caesar'.

p. 23. 1 *amicissimus*] the Arverni and Aedui had been throughout on terms of friendship with the Romans.

2 *populi Romani*] *amicissimus* may be followed by either genitive or dative; with pronouns the dative is usual, cf. B.C. II. 36, Cic. Fam. III. 10, etc.

CHAP. **45.**

4 *equestre proelium secundum*] *equestre proelium* is regarded as a single expression 'cavalry-engagement' and *secundum* is a qualifying epithet; see note on VII. 36.

CHAP. **46.**

12 *superioribus aestivis*] 'in the previous summer campaigns': *aestiva* (sc. *castra*) 'a summer encampment'; the expression is often used to denote that period of the year which is devoted to military operations, when the troops are not stationed in sheltered and permanent winter quarters (*hiberna*), so it comes to denote 'a summer campaign'; here the plural seems to be used, not of one campaign, but of the several campaigns of the previous 8 years B.C. 58—51.

13 *devictam subactamque*] so far as there is any difference between these two words, *subactam* denotes the pacification and submission resulting on the complete conquest (*devictam*).

Aquitaniam] the first sentence of this chapter contains two pairs of strongly antithetic clauses without any particles (*sed*, *autem*) to mark the antithesis: (i) *Aquitaniam* is opposed to *Galliam* and *in omnibus partibus Galliae;* the antithesis might be expressed in Greek τὴν μὲν ἄλλην Γαλλίαν...Ἀκουιτανίαν δέ. (ii) there is an antithesis between *nunquam adisset* and *per P. Crassum devicisset*, in Greek αὐτὸς μὲν οὐ προσῆλθε, διὰ δὲ τὸν Πούπλιον Κράσσον etc. The nice distinctions conveyed by these small particles in Greek have often to be represented in Latin by emphasis of position in writing or of tone in speaking.

14 *per P. Crassum*] this campaign in Aquitania is narrated in III. 20 foll.

16 *extremum tempus consumeret aestivorum*] a spondaic hexameter; in 12 Hirtius wrote an iambic verse.

20 *equitum praesidio*] 'with a cavalry escort'. Caesar would probably have added the preposition *cum*.

Narbonem] the colony of Narbo Martius now Narbonne; see note on I. I.

22 *P. Vatinio*] consul for the last 3 months of the year 47. He was a man of unprincipled character and so unpopular that his name passed into a byword. He was concerned in the prosecution of Sestius in 56 and was fiercely attacked by Cicero who speaks of him as an object of universal detestation who would die forthwith if he wished to be truly '*popularis*'. See Ellis on Catullus XIV. 3 *odissem te odio Vatiniano.*

24 *Turonis*] the Turoni or Turones (II. 35, etc.) occupied the present district of Touraine.

25 *quae continerent*] 'to keep in check'.

26 *Lemovicum*] the name of the Lemovices survives in the province Limousin and the town Limoges.

28 *vacua ab exercitu*] for *vacuus ab* cf. II. 12, III. 1, etc; so *vacare ab* Liv. VII. I.

29 *conventus*] 'assize towns': *conventus* was the term applied to a special meeting of the inhabitants of a provincial town for the administration of justice, etc., and the town itself in which such meeting was periodically held came to be also called *conventus.*

quam] sc. *defectionem*: it was through the loyalty of the province and the aid that it furnished that Caesar had been able to hold out
33 against (bear the brunt of) the defection of Gaul.

p. 24. 1 *hibernavit*] Caesar always has *hiemare.*

2 *Nemetocennae*] possibly, but not certainly, Arras, in the province of Artois, both named after the Atrebates. Nemetocenna is one of

the many Gallic *oppida* named after the mythical Neimheidh progenitor of the Gauls: M. Martin, Histoire de France I. 50, mentions the following Nemetum (Clermont), Nemetae (Spire), Nemausus (Nîmes), Nemetacum (Arras?): add probably the name of the tribe Namnetes. Göler stoutly maintains that Nemetocenna is Beauvais, but Beauvais can hardly be meant here: it seems certain that Nemetacum and not Nemetocenna was the original name of Arras; whether Hirtius makes a slip here or there was a Nemetocenna as well as a Nemetacum among the Atrebates cannot now be determined.

CHAP. 47.

6 *vulnerationem*] the word is somewhat rare: for the event see 23.

7 *semper*] 'had always been accustomed to hold himself in readiness to serve his fellow-countrymen in any rising'.

8 *auctor armorum*] a person who gives the weight of his authority or sanction to any undertaking is said to be its *auctor*, cf. III. 17 *auctores belli*, V. 33 *profectionis auctor*, VI. 8 *defectionis auctores*, 31 *consilii auctor*. For the addition of *dux* cf. Cic. Fam. II. 6 *dux nobis et auctor opus est*.

9 *parente Romanis civitate*] 'while his state was in subjection to the Romans', a mere repetition of *civitas in officio esset*.

10 *infestis itineribus*] 'by making raids'; see note on *infestus* in 48.

CHAP. 48.

12 *attributus*] 'attached': this is the regular phrase for appointments of this kind, cf. VII. 90 *huic M. Sempronium Rutilum attribuit*.

16 *quo libentius*] 'which would make him more inclined to carry out his orders'.

23 *per fidem*] 'under a pledge of safety'; cf. I. 46 *committendum non putabat, ut pulsis hostibus dici posset eos ab se per fidem in colloquio circumventos*.

imposita] *inferre*, not *imponere*, is the usual word for 'to inflict' a wound.

26 *paucosque nostros*] 'our men who were few in number' not 'a few of our men'.

28 *lanceaque infesta*] *infestus* (from *in* and *fendo* 'to cast at', 'aim at') is frequently thus used as an epithet of weapons and denotes the threatening position in which they are held, cf. B. C. III. 93 *infestis pilis procucurrissent*: the word is a favourite with Vergil who, with other writers, often uses it in the more general sense of 'hostile'. Here we may translate 'with a thrust of his lance'.

29 *non dubitant resistere*] *non dubitare* 'not to hesitate' is frequently thus followed by an infinitive, cf. II. 23 *transire non dubitaverunt* and

see Mr Reid's note on Cic. de Senect. 16 for the different constructions of *dubito*.

32 *proteruntur*] 'trampled to death', 'ridden down': 'to trample under foot' is the usual meaning of *proterere* which is sometimes found united with *pedibus:* the lexicon will supply examples, e.g. Val. Flacc. VI. 522, *proterit impulsu gravis agmina, corporaque atris | sternit equis.*

p. 25. 1. *ut*] if the text be right (see appendix) *ut* is of course not final but consecutive, following *sic graviter* 'so seriously wounded as to seem in imminent danger of death'.

3 *expiato suo dolore*] 'because his resentment was now appeased.'

5 *obsidibus datis firmat*] 'pledges himself by the surrender of hostages': similar words in a different sense occur in 27.

9 *scio Caesarem*] if this statement is to be taken strictly Hirtius here asserts his knowledge of the fact that Caesar wrote a commentary of the events of 51, thus confirming my conjecture of *commentarios...non comparentes supplevi* in the preface.

12 *L. Paulo, C. Marcello*] B.C. 50. L. Aemilius Paulus, son of M. Aemilius Lepidus, was an adherent of the oligarchical party, and in 63 had been one of Catiline's accusers. Caesar now won him over by the gift of large sums of money (Suet. Caes. XXIX.). His colleague C. Claudius Marcellus was a cousin of M. Claudius Marcellus the consul of the previous year, and was a strong opponent of Caesar, though distantly connected with him by marriage.

13 *magno opere*] for the position of this word cf. Caelius ap. Cic. Fam. VIII. 1 *ut nunc est, nulla magno opere expectatio est.* Kraner qu. Liv. III. 26 *nulla magno opere clade accepta.*

Galliae] genitive after *res gestas* as in the preface.

Chap. 49.

20 *sub decessu suo*] 'on the eve of his departure' 'just at the moment of his departure'; cf. V. 13 *sub bruma*, B. C. I. 27 *sub ipsa profectione.* Caesar was naturally anxious to leave Gaul in a state of pacification, in view of the serious political crisis that he would have to face in Rome.

decessu] *decessus*, *decessio*, *decedere* are recognised terms for the retirement of a magistrate from a provincial administration, cf. 50 *Caesaris decedentis gratiam convellere cupiebant.*

22 *sine praesenti periculo*] 'if there were no immediate danger' (in doing so).

26 *condicione parendi meliore*] 'by ameliorating the conditions of their obedience'.

Chap. 50.

27 *contra consuetudinem*] hitherto Caesar had spent the summer in Gaul; this year, Gaul no longer requiring his presence, he repaired to Italy.

29 *M. Antonii*] the death of Q. Hortensius, the well-known orator, in May of this year, left a vacancy in the college of augurs. Two candidates appeared in the field, representatives of the two political parties then striving for supremacy in the Roman state, L. Domitius Ahenobarbus put forward by the *optimates*, the Pompeian party, and M. Antonius who had the support of Caesar. The election took place apparently in June and Antonius was successful. The *collegium* of augurs consisted at this time of 15 members, Caesar afterwards raised the number to 16.

31 *contendebat gratia*] lit 'he strove with his influence' i.e. 'he exerted his influence': the ablative *gratia* standing thus by itself is rather harsh and it is just possible that *omni* has fallen out after *enim*.

33 *factionem et potentiam*] 'factious opposition and undue influence': *potentia* like *dominatio* generally denotes power of an irregular or excessive kind, whereas *potestas* is usually recognised or legitimate power. Tacitus An. I. 1 affords a good illustration of the use of these words: *neque decemviralis potestas ultra biennium neque tribunorum militum consulare ius diu valuit. non Cinnae, non Sullae, longa dominatio; et Pompei Crassique potentia cito in Caesarem, Lepidi atque Antonii arma in Augustum cessere.*

paucorum] 'the few', cf. the term οἱ ὀλίγοι so well known in Greek political history. Pompey was now the leader of the oligarchical party; cf. 52 *certiorque fiebat id agi paucorum consiliis*,

p. 26. 1. *decedentis*] 'retiring' from his province at the close of his term of office.

2 *attingeret*] the subject is no doubt Caesar.

4 *municipia et colonias*] the municipal towns were organised communities of Italians which for the most part retained their original constitution and were granted some, and after the *lex Iulia* of 90, all of the privileges of Roman burgesses. Under the term *coloniae* are included probably both the true *coloniae civium Romanorum* of which there were now 4 in Cisalpine Gaul and also the Latin colonies of Strabo for which see my note on 24, and Kraner on the present passage.

5 *quod...praestitissent*] 'because they had granted Antonius their crowded attendance and zealous aid'.

6 *honorem suum*] Caesar was a candidate for the consulship of 48. That he should hold this office was one of the stipulations of the conference at Luca in the spring of 56 (cf. note on III. 7). A brief account of the constitutional difficulties involved in Caesar's candidature will be found in a note at the end of this edition.

sequentis anni] B.C. 49, because the consuls for 48 would be elected during the course of the previous year.

8 *L. Lentulum et C. Marcellum*] these were the consuls of B.C. 49. L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus had been one of the prosecutors of P. Clodius in 61. He was overwhelmed with debt (B. C. I. 4) and his

party seem to have entertained some fear of his being bought by Caesar (Lange, *Römische Alterthümer* III. 268). His colleague C. Claudius Marcellus was a cousin of the Marcellus mentioned above, 48, as one of the consuls of B.C. 50, and a brother of the Marcellus who was consul in 51.

9 *qui spoliarent*] 'for the purpose of despoiling'. The usual construction of *spoliare* is *spoliare aliquem aliqua re*, cf. 52 *ut Caesar aliqua parte exercitus spoliaretur.* The construction in the present passage is as if one were to say 'to rob a man's watch' instead of 'to rob a man of his watch'.

10 *Ser. Galbae*] Ser. Sulpicius Galba had been one of Caesar's *legati* in Gaul; cf. III. 1—6. He was put forward as the Caesarian candidate for the consulship of 49.

cum] 'although'.

11 *quod*] this clause contains the reason of *ereptum Ser. Galbae consulatum:* the consulship had been snatched from him because he was a friend of Caesar.

12 *legationis*] Galba's post as *legatus.*

Chap. **51.**

14 *ille*] 'that famous'.

18 *hostiae*] so far as there is a distinction between *hostiae* and *victimae*, the former denotes the smaller animals offered in sacrifice, such as sheep, pigs etc., while *victimae* is used of the larger.

19 *tricliniis*] an allusion to the *lectisternium* or 'Feast of couches' when figures of the Gods were placed on couches (*lecti* or *triclinia*) which were strewn (*strata*) with rich coverlets; food was then set before them. The *lectisternia* appear to have been sometimes held in the open squares (*fora*) as well as in the temples; hence *foris* should perhaps be retained in Liv. XL. 59 *in foris* (Weissenborn *fanis*) *publicis, ubi lectisternium erat, deorum capita quae in lectis erant averterunt se lanxque* (MSS *lanaque*) *cum integumentis quae Iovi apposita fuit decidit de mensa.* For the celebration in *fana* cf. Liv. XXXVI. 1, XLII. 30.

ut...posset] 'so that people might get a foretaste of the joy of his eagerly expected triumph', *vel* belongs only to *expectatissimi* which it serves to emphasise.

21 *cupiditas*] 'eagerness' to welcome Caesar.

Chap. **52.**

24 *Nemetocennam*] see note on 46 end. This review was held in September.

26 *lustravit*] 'reviewed': a military review was accompanied with certain religious ceremonies, hence the use of *lustrare* which is a word taken from the Roman ritual and means properly 'to purify'.

28 *conciliaretur*] the subject is Gallia. Caesar thought that the presence and influence of his able and successful lieutenant Labienus would induce the inhabitants of Gallia togata (north Italy) to look favourably on his candidature for the consulship. Caesar had not yet had reason to mistrust Labienus who afterwards turned traitor, although as we learn from this chapter there were already rumours afloat that he was being tampered with by the opposite party.

32 *paucorum*] used as in 50 of the oligarchical party.

interposita] cf. VII. 34 *hoc decreto interposito.*

senatus auctoritate] *auctoritas senatus* denotes properly speaking the expressed consent of the senate to any measure before its formal ratification when it becomes a *senatusconsultum*. As one might expect the phrase is sometimes loosely used for *senatusconsultum* as in the present passage. If the *auctoritas* failed to become law it was nevertheless written down and recorded, cf. Cic. Fam. VIII. 8 § 6—8 where three *auctoritates* are given in full.

33 *aliqua parte*] two legions, cf. 54.

spoliaretur] cf. note on *qui spoliarent* in 50.

p. 27. 1 *contra senatus auctoritatem*] Caesar determined to keep as far as possible within the lines of the constitution and to throw on his adversary the responsibility of being the first to depart from them.

3 *liberis sententiis*] 'so long as their opinions were free', 'if the senators were allowed the free expression of their opinions'.

4 *obtineri*] lit. 'was being gained'; the future event is regarded as in course of present fulfilment. Hirtius might have written *causam suam facile se obtenturum.*

C. Curio] called by Suetonius *violentissimus tribunorum*: he was a clever and unprincipled profligate whom Caesar attached to himself by paying his debts. He died fighting bravely at the battle of the Bagrada (Merjerdah) near Utica in Africa B.C. 49. A brief statement of the part that he took at this period will be found in my note at the end of the book.

7 *dominatio atque arma*] see note on 50 *factionem et potentiam* and the passage from Tacitus there quoted.

8 *discederet...dimitteret*] jussive subjunctives rather abruptly introduced, 'let each disarm and disband his army': Roby § 1606.

9 *sui iuris*] genitive of quality, treated as a secondary predicate; so Liv. XXV. 29 *cum arbitrii nostri esse coeperimus*, XXXI. 45 *nec se potestatis suae esse respondebant*, cf. Roby § 1282: tr. 'the state will be its own master'.

10 *sc per discessionem*] *sc* is the usual contraction for *senatusconsultum.* A *discessio* 'division' was effected thus: the senators who wished to vote

for the proposed measure walked to one side of the senate house and those opposed to it to the other. Those who voted for the measure were said *ire in sententiam*, while the others were said *in alia omnia transire*, cf. 53 *senatus frequens in alia omnia transiit.* On the occasion in question the division seems to have actually taken place, 370 members voting for Curio's resolution and 22 against it; but by some means or other the Pompeian party managed to prevent the senatorial decree embodying the terms of the resolution from being passed. The *magnum hoc testimonium* of the next chapter clearly refers to some decisive expression of opinion on the part of the Senate as a body (*universi*) in Caesar's favour, for Hirtius compares it with a similar proceeding of the previous year when the senate voted against a resolution of Marcellus framed in opposition to Caesar's interests. The *testimonium* then must be this decisive division in favour of Curio's motion that Pompey and Caesar should both simultaneously disband their armies, which motion, it must be remembered, was thoroughly approved by Caesar if not actually suggested by him.

12 *evicerunt*] 'succeeded in preventing it from taking place': *evincere* is 'to gain one's point' the object successfully attained being expressed by an *ut* (*ne*) clause, cf. Liv. XXXVIII. 9 *partim consilio partim precibus evicit ut permitterent se Romanis.* I read *evicerunt* for *iusserunt* and *morando* for *moderando* with most recent editors in obedience to Mommsen and Madvig. See appendix.

Chap. 53.

14 *superiori*] 'previous'; Hirtius goes on to explain what this previous action was.

15 *proximo anno*] B.C. 51. The consuls were M. Claudius Marcellus (cousin of the consul of 50 and brother of the consul of 49, cf. note on 50) and Ser. Sulpicius Rufus.

16 *legem Pompei et Crassi*] the lex Pompeia Licinia (thus named after its two authors Cn. Pompeius and M. Licinius Crassus consuls for the second time B.C. 55) was proposed early in the spring of 55. In accordance with the private arrangement made at the conference of Luca (see note on III. 7) it prolonged Caesar's command for an additional space of 5 years from March 54 to March 49. According to Plutarch Pomp. LII. this law was proposed by the tribune C. Trebonius at the instigation of Pompey and Crassus, but see Mommsen Hist. IV. 312 (Engl. Trans.), Rechtsfrage p. 40 note, Lange Röm. Alt. III^2 338.

ante tempus] as Caesar's command did not expire till 49, it was 'premature' of Marcellus to bring forward proposals in September 51 about his retirement from his command and the appointment of his successors. The lex Pompeia Licinia may have contained a clause providing that this question should not be discussed before March 50. Lange Röm. Alt. III^2 383.

17 *provinciis*] three in number, the two Gauls and Illyria.

sententiis] the senators were called on in turn to express their opinion on the question submitted to them. This expression of opinion was called *sententia*.

18 *ex Caesaris invidia*] 'from Caesar's disrepute' i.e. by bringing Caesar into disrepute.

19 *in alia omnia transiit*] see note on 52 *sc per discessionem : alia omnia* means strictly 'anything else', i.e. either the direct opposite of the proposal submitted or some third course.

21 *quo maiores*] 'to provide stronger methods of compulsion whereby to force the senate'.

CHAP. 54.

24 *senatusconsultum*] this decree seems to have been passed in June.

bellum Parthicum] it was in 65 that difficulties first arose between the Romans and the Parthians, but war was not declared till 56. Crassus went out as commander in chief in 54, his defeat and death took place in June of the following year; his place was taken temporarily by Gaius Cassius Longinus till the appointment of M. Bibulus as Governor of Syria and M. Tullius Cicero of Cilicia in March 51. Unfavourable news arrived from Bibulus in May 59 and next month it was decreed that two legions should be sent out under L. Marius.

26 *neque obscure*] as Hirtius goes on to explain, Pompey had lent one legion to Caesar (see my note on VI. 1) and Pompey now gives up that legion for the Parthian war, thus virtually depriving Caesar of two legions without weakening his own position.

28 *eam*] redundant, the object of *dedit* being *legionem primam*.

29 *cum*] concessive 'although': notice that *tamen* which logically follows the concessive clause is yet here placed before it.

30 *suorum*] the reflexive pronoun is used as if *dubius esset* had preceded instead of *dubium esset ei*, Doberenz.

31 *in Gallia citeriore*] the XVth was one of the legions under the command of Labienus (see my note on 2) who had just been stationed in hither Gaul.

33 *quae praesidia*] perhaps Hirtius wrote *quae ea praesidia*.

p. 28. 2 *C. Trebonium*] one of the tribunes of 55 and consul for the last three months of 45. Though one of Caesar's trusted officers he joined the conspiracy against his master. He was himself treacherously murdered by Dolabella in 43.

CHAP. 55.

9 *deberent duci*] 'were to have been taken'.

10 *in Italia retentas*] cf. B. C. 1. 2 *timere Caesarem ereptis ab eo duabus legionibus, ne ad eius periculum reservare et retinere eas ad urbem Pompeius videretur*; 4 (*Pompeius*) *simul infamia duarum legionum permotus, quas ab itinere Asiae Syriaeque ad suam potentiam dominatumque converterat, rem ad arma deduci studebat.*

13 *quam belligerandi*] the sentence would have been more logical if Hirtius had written simply *iure potius disceptandi quam bello.*

14 *contendit*—] we may reasonably suppose that there is not much missing. It is idle to conjecture how the gap should be filled up.

APPENDIX I.

THE two most recent and trustworthy authorities on the codices of the Bellum Gallicum are Dr Andreas Frigell and Herr Alfred Holder. See L. Vielhaber in Zeitschrift für die Oesterreichischen Gymnasien, 1864, p. 27: H. J. Heller in Philologus XVII and XIX, and reviews of Holder's book by Ig. Prammer in Zeitschrift, 1883, p. 626, and H. Schiller in Philologischer Anzeiger, XIII, Supplementheft 2, p. 843.

I here give Frigell's distribution of the more important MSS in order of merit, with the initial letters used by him to denote them, and, in a parallel column, those used by Holder; then I add Holder's *conspectus codicum* that it may be seen how far his estimate differs from that of Frigell.

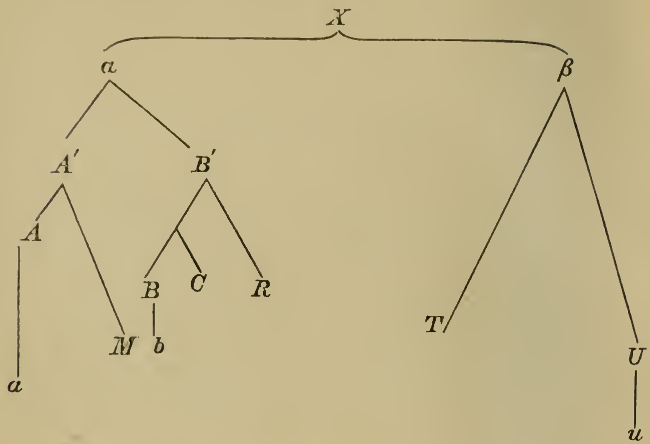
FIRST CLASS.	(Holder.)
(*a*) Parisinus (P), tenth, or possibly end of ninth century.	(B)
Romanus (R), tenth, or beginning of eleventh century.	(R)
(*b*) Amstelodamensis (A), same date as Parisinus.	(A)
Moysiacensis (M), twelfth century.	(M)
To this class may also be added:	
Vossianus (V), eleventh century?	(b)
Codex mutilus (cod. mut.), tenth century.	(C)

SECOND CLASS.	
(*a*) Thuaneus (T), twelfth century?	(T)
Leidensis (L).	
(*b*) Ursinianus (U), twelfth century?	(U)
Hauniensis (H), fourteenth century?	(u)

THIRD CLASS.

Gottorpiensis (G).
Jadrensis (J), dated 1437.
Colbertinus (C), fifteenth century.
Borbonianus (Borb), fifteenth century.
Barberinianus (Barb), fourteenth century.

Holder's *conspectus* is as follows:



In this table *X* denotes the original archetype, α and β denote the supposed archetypes of two clearly marked families of MSS, *A′* and *B′* the parents of two sub-families of the main branch α. It will be noticed that some of Frigell's MSS are not used by Holder, and that Holder's *a* does not appear in Frigell's list.

Nipperdey's Quaestiones p. 37 foll. should also be consulted with reference to the MSS. In the following list I give only the more important MS variations together with such conjectures as seemed worthy of mention. Some of the latter[1] are taken from Prof. Eussner's review in Bursian's Jahresbericht vol. XXVII.

P. 1, l. 5, P R M V T L U have *comparantibus*, A *comparentib;* so too the editio Romana of 1469: the correction *comparandos* dates from the fifteenth century; Frigell has *comparibus* Schneider, Nipperdey, Kraner, Doberenz *conhaerentibus*, Holder *conquadrantibus!* Suetonius Iul. 56 says *reliquit et rerum suarum commentarios Gallici civilisque belli Pompeiani. nam Alexandrini Africique et Hispaniensis incertus auctor est. alii Oppium putant, alii Hirtium qui etiam Gallici belli novissimum imperfectumque librum suppleverit.* The words *novissimum imperfectumque* are evidently taken by Suetonius from the present passage though wrongly applied by him: is his *suppleverit* also suggested by the present passage? I believe it is, and that Hirtius

[1] Some of these conjectures so carefully collected by Prof. Eussner savour of what Cobet calls "τὸ σκυλακῶδες iuniorum criticorum."

wrote *non comparentes supplevi, superioribus atque etc.:* I suppose *supplevi* to have dropped out in consequence of the repetition of the syllable *sup-*, and then *comparentes* became altered, by assimilation to the following *superioribus*, to *comparentibus* or *comparantibus*. Such assimilation is a frequent source of corruption in MSS; see note on p. 15, l. 30.

P. 2, l. 16, J has *Romanis*, the rest *a Romanis* contrary to sense.

P. 2, l. 24, all MSS *duodecimam* or XII.

P. 2, l. 32, MSS *deiectisque.*

P. 3, l. 21, MSS *centurionibus tot milia nummum:* Holder *centurioni bis tantum numerum*, a very bad suggestion: Nipperdey in despair proposes *duplicem summam.* Did Hirtius write *bis totidem nummos?* the *bis* might well have been absorbed by *centurionibus.*

The *condonata* of MSS can scarcely be right; it is hard to decide between *condonanda* and *condonaturum.*

P. 3, l. 22, *recipit* A M L, *recepit* P R V T U H G.

P. 3, l. 31, *ducti* MSS; my suggestion of *docti* has been made independently by van Aalst and Koch; cf. Cic. Fam. XV. 2 § 6 *docti casu patris.*

P. 4, l. 5, *coniectis* MSS, *conlectis* most editors after Weissenborn; these words are easily confused in MSS. Afterwards all MSS have *contegit* for which most recent editors have *compegit* (cf. Cic. Att. viii. 8 § 1 *in Apuliam se compegerat*), Nipperdey after Morus *coniecit.* Vielhaber and Holder propose to omit *tentoriorum integendorum gratia* which might well be dispensed with.

P. 4, l. 23, *Correo* T U, *Corbeo* P R A M V; there is a similar variation wherever the name occurs.

P. 4, l. 31, *L. Labieno* T U, *lucio Labieno* P R A M V; so in i. 22 P R A M V T U have *Lucio Labieno:* cf. infra p. 25, l. 31.

P. 5, l. 32, *hostes* P R V T L U G J C, *hostis* A M: *prodirent* T L U G J C, *prodiret* P R A M V.

P. 6, l. 24, for *deprimi directis. turres* T U have *derectis deprimitur res* a good instance of a copyist's blunder; see below on l. 29.

P. 6, l. 29, for *quo tutior* T has IIII*or*; I suppose the writer copying from dictation thought *quo tutior* had something to do with *quarto.* Mistakes in MSS not unfrequently arise from errors made in writing from dictation.

P. 6, l. 30, all MSS *quo* according to Frigell, but Holder assigns *qui* to U. *qui* must be right, *quo* having arisen from confusion with the previous *quo.*

P. 7, l. 6, all MSS *aut Gallorum*, the sense having been misunderstood.

P. 7, l. 8, *eadem* T U, *eodem* P R A M V.

P. 7, l. 21—P. 8, l. 1 *nisi a maiore—aggrederentur* omitted by P R A M V G not T L U H J C B.

P. 8, l. 1, *nostros insidiae* T, *nostros insidie* U H, *nostros insidiis* J B, *nostros in insidiis* C; perhaps *insidiis* should be inserted after *deinde:* cf. i. 42 *ne per insidias ab eo circumveniretur.*

P. 8, l. 20, *resistentibus* A M U H, *in resistendo* P R V G, *in resistentibus* T. Frigell, Dinter, Vielhaber, Kraner, Doberenz adopt *in resistendo.*

P. 8, l. 30, *isdem castris* MSS, but the ed. Romana inserts *in*, and so modern editors. It is not absolutely necessary.

P. 9, l. 4, all MSS have *in suis instruunt castris:* recent editors write *pro* for *in*, Frigell *ex* which seems less probable.

P. 9, l. 11, *dividi videret* is due to Nipperdey. *dum divideret* P T, *dimitterent. dum divideret* T U H, *dum videret* A, *divideret* R V L G J C.

P. 9, l. 30, for *ut consueverant* T L U H have *ubi consederant;* this gave rise to the absurd marginal gloss *namque in acie sedere Gallos superioribus commentariis Caesaris declaratum est* which has found its way into the text of all MSS. Holder follows Vielhaber in omitting *ut consueverant*, wrongly, I think.

P. 10, l. 5, *promovet* T L U H, *promovit et* P R V G J, *promovit* A M.

P. 10, l. 9, *fumum* T U H, *summum iugum* P R A M V: with great hesitation I adopt with Göler, Kraner, Holder the reading of the inferior MSS, assuming the words *summum iugum* to represent futile attempts to correct *fumum* or some corruption of *fumum.*

P. 10, l. 23, Kraffert would alter *qua* to *quem* and remove *consuetudine.*

P. 10, l. 28, for *aut impeditissimo flumine*, T U have *impeditissimis aut flumine altissimo*, perhaps from an idea that *impeditissimum* was not properly applied to *flumen*, but cf. 14 *palude impedita.*

P. 11, l. 2, *primum* A M T U, *primus* P R V Frigell.

P. 11, l. 14, *interpositi* T U, *interpositis* P R A M V.

P. 11, l. 28, T L U H insert *quo fors tulerat* before *consternati.*

P. 12, l. 4, *plus minus* the reading of all MSS is altered by editors to *passuum*, but rightly in my judgment defended by H. Schiller in Philologus XLIII. 522.

P. 12. l. 9, Kraner, Doberenz, Holder omit the words *cognita calamitate* which certainly seem rather out of place; Hotomann, Hoffmann, Göler, Kraffert would place them before *omnibus adversis.*

P. 12, l. 12, *mittantur* A T U, *mittuntur* P R V.

P. 13, l. 16, *velut* all MSS; editors generally adopt Lipsius' *vel*; for the second *vel* T U have *vellet.*

P. 13, l. 26, *pararet* A M T U H, *id pararet* P R V G which perhaps points to an original *adpararet* adopted by Davis and Frigell.

P. 14, l. 2, MSS *duodecimam* or XII, but XV should be read, cf. Nipperdey Quaestiones 117 foll.

P. 14, l. 6, *impetu incolae illorum* P R A M V (*incole* A M, *incolae* R), *impetu eorum* T L U H : Frigell has *Illyriorum*, Madvig *Istrorum*, Kraner, Holder *eorum*, Nipperdey, Doberenz *illorum*. I follow Frigell doubtfully.

P. 14, l. 18, *bellis exercitata* T L U H, *exercita bellis* P R A M V. Frigell, Holder have *exercita*, but I prefer *exercitata*, cf. II. 20 *superioribus proeliis exercitati*.

P. 15, l. 7, *et Romanum et externum sustinere hostem* P R A M V G, *et Romanum hostem et externum sustinere* T L U H : no doubt *Romanum* was a marginal or interlinear explanation of *externum* whence it finally crept into the text.

P. 15, l. 14, *eum* T L U H, *non eum* P R A M V G which must be wrong.

P. 15, l. 16, *equitatumque* MSS, so most editors; Nipperdey writes *equitatu* (=*equitatui*) referring to Madvig's rule, see note. Draeger Hist. Synt. ii. 387 qu. Lucr. V. 671 *in certo dentes cadere imperat aetas tempore*, Sueton. Tib. 57 *scurram imperat recipere debitum*, Bell. Afr. 66 *imperat legiones sequi;* he overlooks B. G. VII. 60 *cohortes proficisci imperat* as an instance of a deponent infinitive.

P. 15, l. 30, *subsistentes* T U, *subsistentibus* P R A V, a good instance of a textual corruption arising from assimilation of one word to another, *subsistentes* being here followed by the dative *equitibus*. See note on p. 1, l. 5.

P. 15, l. 32, MSS *superatisque*, due no doubt to a misunderstanding of the relation of the two participles *contemptis* and *superatis*, see above p. 8, l. 20.

P. 16, l. 15, *timore* T U, *eo tempore* all other MSS : most recent editors *eo timore*.

P. 16, l. 21, *latronibus* A M T L U H, *latrociniis* P R V G.

P. 16, l. 22, *milibus ex fuga quinque* P R V, *milib. V. e fuga* L, *duobus milib. ex fuga quinque* A, *duobus milibus e fuga* T U H.

P. 18, l. 13, *possit* T U H, *posset* P R A M V G ; the following *disponat* renders the imperfect out of the question.

P. 18, l. 31, *a milibus non amplius* XII T L U H, *a milibus non longe amplius* XII P R A M V J : the former is generally accepted by the editors, but Frigell has *a milibus longe* XII.

P. 18, l. 33, *perterritos* MSS, but T U *perterriti :* editors generally omit the word as unsuited to the context, since Drappes and his men did not know of the defeat of Lucterius; but the Roman attack combined with the continued absence of Lucterius might well be

thought likely to inspire them with alarm; I therefore see no adequate reason for suspecting the word, provided it be not taken too closely in sense with *fugato duce altero.*

P. 19, l. 6, *in trina* T U, *intra* P R A M V.

P. 19, l. 11, *equitesque* P R V J, *equites* A M T L U H; a similar difference in l. 15.

P. 19, l. 26, *relinquit* only P? *reliquit* A M T U; the context favours *relinquit.*

P. 20, l. 5, '*qui ei omnia pericula et detrimenta belli a Gutruato accepta* A M T L U H (*et omnia* H), P R omit *ei*, for *accepta* P R V have *accepto*: it is clear that the words *a Gutruato* have crept in from a marginal explanation.

P. 20, l. 18, T U insert *duabus* respectively after and before *regionibus.* Holder follows T.

P. 20, l. 21, *Caesar* omitted by Kraner, Doberenz, Holder, as its position in the MSS varies.

P. 21, l. 9, before *e regione* J inserts *sine magno periculo* and A (manus secunda) *non sine magno periculo. e regione* T L U, *regione* P R V; the difference seems to be that *regione* usually means 'in the neighbourhood of', *e regione* 'opposite'.

P. 21, l. 15, *ab vineis* Davis for *ad vineas* of MSS: *et caput* (or *capud*) P R V M T L U, *et ad caput* J, *ad caput* man. sec. of U and A: the proximity of *agunt* and a reminiscence of the common phrase *vineas agere* caused the corruption of *vineis* to *vineas* whence all the confusion.

P. 21, l. 18, only man. sec. of U has LX, rest of MSS *sex* or VI.

P. 22, l. 2, *quisque poterat* P R V, *ut quisque poterat* J, *quam quisque poterat* M T L U adopted by Dübner, Kraner, Doberenz, Holder, whom I follow doubtfully: see note. Frigell has *ita quisque prout erat.*

P. 22, l. 13, *permanerent* T U, *permanebant* P R A M V G Frigell. *at postremum* T, *et ad postremum* Frigell.

P. 23, l. 2, *populi Romani* man. sec. of P and A, *p. r.* P A M, *poplo r.* U, *poplo R.* T.

P. 23, l. 8, *virtutis* A M T U, *virtutem* P R V, *virtutum* Frigell unwisely.

P. 23, l. 14, *ipse adisset* A, *adisset* P R V J, *ipse adisset sed* M T U H Holder; most editors omit *ipse*, wrongly, I think.

P. 23, l. 16, T U have *aestivorum consumeret* thus avoiding hexameter.

P. 23, l. 32, T U insert *in re p.* after *animo: in rem publicam* would make good sense but was probably not written by Hirtius.

P. 24, l. 1, *recipit hibernatque* P R V, *recepit hibernatque* J, *recepit hibernavitque* A M T U H which I adopt with Holder.

P. 24, l. 15, *virtutem* P R A M J, *partã virtutẽ* U, *partẽ virtutẽ* T, *partis virtutẽ* L: what was the source of this variant? perhaps *ad promptam* (*promtam prõtã*) *virtutem*, cf. Sall. Cat. 32 *promptam audaciam*, Tac. An. I. 57 *promptus audacia*.

P. 24, l. 22, *suorum* P R V G, *repente suorum* A M, *omnium suorum* T L, *repente omnium suorum* U H J, *repente suorum* Holder.

P. 24, l. 23, *per fidem interpositam* P R V G J, *perfidia interposita* A M T L U H: all editors after Gruter *per fidem imposita* (Holder has *inposita* in text, but *interposita* (sic) in his index with reference to this passage). I would gladly if possible retain *per fidem interpositam* remembering *fidem interponere* in v. 6 and 36 and Hirtius' fondness for the word, but fear the expression would bear no adequate sense. Pluygers cj. *perfide*.

P. 24, l. 32, *proteruntur* MSS; why has Frigell *in fugam proterrentur?* only T L U H have *fugam*.

P. 24, l. 33, all MSS (except cod. Norvicensis) *quod ubi* perhaps repeated by accident from 30. *ac si proelio secundo* P R V L C (*sic* cod. Norvicensis), but A M T U H omit *ac...secundo* and *ab eo*, which last two words are found in P R V L C. Holder follows A M T U H.

P. 25, l. 5, *obsidibus datis firmat* A M T L U H; P R V J omit *datis*, so Nipperdey, Kraner, Doberenz, Frigell.

P. 25, l. 12, *T. Paulo* MSS, but L (first given by Aldus) is right: cf. the blunders of the MSS in the praenomen of Labienus p. 4, l. 31.

P. 25, l. 20, *descessu suo* P R V, *discessu suo* A M, *decessum suum* T U H Frigell.

P. 25, l. 30, T U have *commendaret*.

P. 26, l. 6, *sequentis* P R A M G, *insequentis* T L U H J which is very probably right.

P. 26, l. 7, *commendaret* P R V, *commendaret petitione* A M T L U H J, so Holder.

P. 26, l. 12, some confusion here in the MSS: after *legationis esset* P R V G insert p. 27, l. 21 *quo maiores pararent...contendit* end of book, they then recommence *exceptus est Caesaris* and end off with *inimicorum Caesaris* p. 27, l. 20. A page or two of the archetype must have got transposed.

P. 26, l. 14, *tum* T U, *cum* P R A M.

P. 27, l. 7, *et quoniam* MSS, but the *et* can scarcely be right, though Holder retains it: it is a mere dittography of the last syllable of *laederet*.

P. 27, l. 10, *per se discessionem* MSS (M omits *se*). With recent editors I adopt Th. Mommsen's *se per discessionem*.

P. 27, l. 12, *iusserunt* MSS (*suaserunt* C); Pantagathus has *intercesserunt;* so Holder: Jurinius proposed *evicerunt*, and for the meaningless *moderando* he proposes *morando* which most editors adopt.

P. 27, l. 13, *discusserunt* due to Victorius: *discesserunt* M T J, *disceser* U, *dissesserunt* H C.

P. 27, l. 28, *Caesaris* T L U H, *Caesari* P R M V G.

P. 27, l. 29, text as in P R V G, *de voluntate adversariorum se spoliari nemini dubium esset* M T U B, *de voluntate adversariorum se expoliari nemini dubium esset* J.

P. 27, l. 30, P V have *Pompeii*, which Frigell needlessly adopts.

P. 28, l. 11, *quidnam...pararetur* P R M V T U, *quin arma... pararentur* J C.

P. 28, l. 13, *belligerandi* P R M V T U L, *belli gerendi* J C B. I retain the best supported reading.

P. 28, l. 14, *contendit* P R V L, omitted in other MSS.

APPENDIX II.

The following is a brief statement of the constitutional difficulties attending Caesar's candidature for the consulship of 48 B.C. The chief modern authorities are Mommsen's Rechtsfrage, his History, and Lange's Römische Alterthümer.

In B.C. 59 the *lex Vatinia de provinciis Caesaris* conferred on Caesar the governorship of Gallia cisalpina and Illyricum for five years from March 1, 59, to March 1, 54, together with the command of three legions; a decree of the senate conferred on him in the same year the province of Gallia Narbonensis for a similar period of time together with a fourth legion. The reason for this appointment dating from March 1 was that this, the first day of the old Roman year, was still adopted as the starting-point for offices of a military character, whereas the civil year began on January 1. At the conference of Luca in 56 Caesar had an interview with Pompeius and Crassus, and it was then agreed that Caesar's term of office should be prolonged for another five years, consequently till March 1, 49. An enactment to this effect called the *lex Pompeia Licinia* was passed in 55. It was also informally agreed that Caesar should be at liberty to stand for the consulship of 48, when the period of 10 years that must by law intervene between two tenures of the consulship should have elapsed, his first consulship having been in 59. But as his provincial administration expired on the last day of February 49, while he would not enter on office as consul till January 1, 48, a period of 10 months would elapse during which he would be holding no office at all, and would therefore be liable to impeachment for his acts during his governorship. This he naturally wanted to avoid, knowing that M. Cato was prepared to impeach him. To escape this impeachment it was needful for him if possible to retain his provincial magistracy till the end of December 49. Previous to 52 the consuls and praetors entered on their governorships at the beginning of the year next following their year of office at Rome, so that according to this arrangement Caesar's successor who would be the consul of 49 would enter on office on January 1, 48, and in accordance with an old rule Caesar would retain his command till the arrival of his successor; but a decree of the senate in 53, which became law in 52 (*lex Pompeia de provinciis*), enacted that the governorship should be given to ex-consuls or ex-praetors after an interval of five years from their urban magistracy, and that till this new regulation should come in force (which would be in 46) the appointments should be filled up by the senate from the number of those ex-consuls or ex-praetors who had not

held any provincial administration. This enactment which originated with the Pompeian party was evidently a blow aimed at Caesar, for by it the senate would be at liberty to appoint a successor to Caesar on March 1, 49, and he would then be without office for the last 10 months of 49 and therefore liable to impeachment. But here another constitutional difficulty came in. There was a law that candidates for the consulship should give in their names (*nomina profiteri*) in person six months beforehand. This Caesar could not do if he were in Gaul; but the law had not been always strictly observed and it had probably been arranged at Luca that it should be dispensed with in Caesar's case. A special enactment or *privilegium* granting this dispensation was carried by the 10 tribunes in 52, with the consent of Pompeius, who thereby, as Mommsen says, incomprehensibly abandoned his completely secure position; yet in the *lex Pompeia de iure magistratuum*, contemporaneous with the *lex Pompeia de provinciis* mentioned above, passed later in 52, the rule was reaffirmed. The Caesarian party strongly objected to this, and a special clause was then irregularly if not illegally added excepting Caesar from the operation of the rule. In consequence of these successive changes the point of law was left so uncertain that it was open to lawyers to argue on either side, for or against Caesar. With such constitutional difficulties the senate had now to deal. The case came before it for the first time in 51, when M. Marcellus the consul proposed that Caesar's provinces should be given to the two consulars whose turn it was to hold office. The question was discussed at length, some proposing that Caesar's command should be prolonged beyond 49, and that he should hold it conjointly with the consulship, and finally the settlement was put off till the next year. In March 50 it came on again. The tribune C. Curio, acting in Caesar's interest, proposed that his administrations should end on March 1, 49, and that Pompey should also resign his command of the Spanish provinces on the same day. The proposal seemed a fair one and was acceptable to the populace, but Pompey objected, and the discussion continued without result till the autumn when the final vote was taken and Curio's proposal was carried by an overwhelming majority. Pompey however refused to comply with the senatorial decree and war became inevitable. Caesar issued his ultimatum at Ravenna at the end of the year, again offering to resign his command if Pompey would resign his, but it was now too late for compromise, and on January 12, 49, Caesar crossed the Rubicon.

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